

The Pretended REFORMERS:
OR, A TRUE
HISTORY
OF THE

German Reformation,

Founded upon the

HERESIE
OF

JOHN WICKLIFFE, JOHN
HUSS, and JEROM of Prague:

AND

An Impartial Account of the Wars, which
ensued thereupon.

IN TWO PARTS.

Made English. from the French Original.

With an Introductory Preface, Addressed to the
Patrons of the (pretended) Episcopal Reformed
Churches.

By MATTHIAS EARBERRY,
Presbyter of the Church of England.

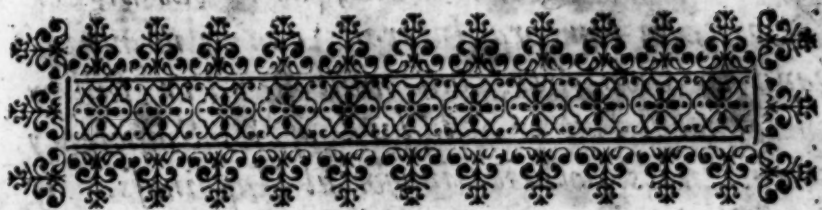
L O N D O N:

Printed for T. Fauncy at the *Angel* without Temple-
Bar. 1720. (Price 5 s.)



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PREFACE

BY THE

English EDITOR.



THE Reformed Part of Europe having come under so many different Denominations, and being divided into so many Sects and Parties, armed with Virulence and the most bitter Animosities against each other; I purposed to publish the Life of Wickliff, Huss, and Jerom of Prague, as an Essay towards a general Attempt of retrieving the Honour of the Reformation, which, by the promiscuous Use of the Word Protestant, has suffered very much. Some People are very fond of lumping all those Religions together, which are opposed to Popery; insomuch that Musselmen, Jews, and Infidels, bid very fair to be taken into this grand Alliance. A Project of this Nature in Civil Politicks might pass

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without

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without Censure; but it will by no Means agree with Religion, which, as it has higher Views than temporal Interest, can by no means bend to such Arts, but must stand or fall by one general Test or Standard of its Sufficiency to obtain its Votaries immortal Happiness. If it fails in that, the grand End of its Institution is entirely lost.

I am very confident we should every Day gain more Ground upon the Papists, if it was not for three Reasons: First, The Reformers abroad use too much Latitude in relation to the Government and Discipline of the Church; and ours at home too little. The first cannot, or will not, distinguish the Abuses of Ecclesiastical Power, and the regular Institution of Episcopacy, and the sacred Rights of the Christian Church: They have not found a Way to withdraw from the Church of Rome without Mob-Reformations, pulling down Churches, and levelling all her Out-works, by which she is secured from the Attempts of Schismatics and Infidels. And as to our Reformers at home, they are too strait laced, and confine the Christian Institution within the narrow Sphere of an Act of Parliament, and make it no more than a State Plan: Which however it may conduce to keep up the Face of a Religion in a Kingdom, it can have no great Influence upon the Minds of Men: And is, in short, making an Idol of the State, and falling down

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down, and worshipping it when we have done;
a Flight of Fancy not much unlike the Hair-
brain'd Nebuchadonofor!

Secondly, By taking into our Protection all
those mad Enthusiasts, who vent their own
private Opinions for the Dictates of the Spi-
rit, and under the Umbrage of Zeal against
Popery, vent their wild Extravagancies, we
get only Disgrace for our Pains, and make our
Adversaries of Rome believe we are as bad
as our Friends.

Thirdly, For the most Part (though I will
not say entirely) we argue against the Papists
upon a wrong Hypothesis: We sometimes at-
tack their Infallibility in such a manner as to
leave even Christianity precarious. When they
boast of their Catholicism, we seem to ridicule
even the Notion of a Catholick Church. Nor
do we sufficiently play the Greek Church against
their pretended Universality; or we do it so
unskillfully, we take even that corrupted Part
of the Church into the Body of Protestants;
neither do we imagine our Ends sufficiently
gain'd till we have proved the Pope Antichrist,
and given the Turk an Opportunity to slip his
Neck out of the Collar. By the same Means
our Endeavours to regain the unhappy deluded
Papists to the Bosom of the Catholick Church
are render'd vain. We borrow Arguments
from Calvin and Luther, when we have a
much richer Store of our own. Though they
have

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have been oppress'd by the Exorbitance of the Regale, and the Entroachments of Politicians, let us follow that noble Scheme of Church Government laid down by Dr. Hickes, and let me see the Papist who can make good his Part against us. But this we may depend upon; the Ecclesiastical Supremacy of the Prince, while we make use thereof, will do us more Hurt than Good. It can only serve in the Triumphant State of the Church; and even then it gives our Adversaries a large Field to draw up numerous Forces against us.

*Nor are we upon a much better Lay with our new Allies the Lutherans, Calvinists, and Wickliffians: They are our secret Enemies, while they pretend to be on our Side: They envy the Beauty of our Sion, and would see her Glories buried in the Dust. How can they be Friends to us, when they are not Friends amongst themselves! The Calvinist and Lutheran damn each other, and have not been wanting to bestow the same Complement upon us in our Turn. And what a numerous Spawn of Protestants have we in this Kingdom, who have, and do load us with the Epithets of the Scarlet Whore, Antichristian Beasts, and the like? Have they not monopoliz'd Salvation to themselves with their Notions of Predestination, and damned us consequently to the lowest Hell? With what Astonishment have I seen a Book published with the sacred Stamp
of*

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of Authority, in which a Jew is recorded as a Martyr, and stands in the midst of some Hundreds of Christians on each Side? But does any one think the Jew, if he had foreseen such an Honour to be bestowed upon him by Fox, he would not have consented to submit rather to be hung in Chains till the Winds and Rain had dispersed him into Oblivion, than to be so immortalized?

The Reader, if he views this History with an impartial Eye, will be convinced that Wickliff, Hufs, and Jerom, are little better, though a modern Writer, and one who would be thought a modern Saint, has immortaliz'd 'em, as they deserved, by being their Advocate.

When Wickliff is dispatch'd, the World shall be obliged with a farther Account of some more Reformers. They are under the Curse of the Amalekites; not even an Agag shall be spared.

One grand Objection has been raised against the foreign Reformers; That they ever laid the Foundations of their Religion in Blood. The Reader in this History will see a Specimen of this Nature: Wickliff's Cause was first patroniz'd by one who endeavoured to be a vile Usurper, and by an Whore; and was carried on by no better Means to its Period.

The first Motive in Wickliff to reform was Revenge for the Loss of a Bishoprick: Like
the

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the Heretick Valentinus, as Tertullian has judiciously observed, Ut solent animi pro Prioratu accendi: Ambition generally being the Parent of novel Opinions. The Man's Disappointment made him rail against Prelacy itself, because he could not arrive at the Honour.

The Duke of Lancaster was his chief Patron; whom all Historians agree to have been a secret Rebel, and would have paved the Way to the Throne at the Expence of the natural Right of the Heir Apparent his Nephew. His Disposition was plainly shewn in his appearing before the Bishop of London in Behalf of Wickliff, awing the poor Bishop with Menaces, threatening to bring down the Pride of all the Prelacy of England, and to pluck the venerable Bishop by the Ears out of the Church.

The same Spirit which began Wickliff's Reformation, animated his Followers after his Death to rebel under Sir John Oldcastle in England, and, as the Reader will see in the following History, to convey the same Spirit of Rebellion into Bohemia, and make that unhappy Country a Scene of Bloodshed and Horror for several Years.

What I here alledge may perhaps not influence some People, who look upon Rebellion to be no Crime. But as these Men have evidently shewn the utmost Contempt of Christianity

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stianity, it is no wonder they slight the Doctrine of the Cross, and the Precepts peculiar to our most Holy Profession. They are Men of fear'd Consciences, who regard neither the Laws of God or Man.

But to return to Wickliff: Dr. KENNETT seems to blame our Historian Daniel as too hard and too injurious to his Character: He quotes WOOD's Antiquitates Oxonienses to prove he was a Man of Figure, and President of a College in Oxford: But he is pleased to omit that he was turn'd out of that honourable Post; which might be one Reason of his future Resentment.

But whatever were his Motives, 'tis evident he went on through all his Conduct with evident Signs of being a wicked Man: He ought rather to have died than suffered a venerable Prelate, his Superior, to be treated in that opprobrious manner by a Lay-Man.

The Reader in this Book will find perhaps a Scene opened to his View entirely new. The Bigotted Papist on one Hand, and the Latitudinarian Protestant on the other appear in their proper Colours: The one by malicious Prejudice, and the other by an over fond Partiality, had cast such a Cloud over the Affairs of this Age, that no Man of ordinary Judgment could perceive on which Side the Fault was to be imputed. But I will venture to say this Author has made no small Progress in such a desirable Work, with

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more Candour than those can justly boast of, who fondly call themselves Impartial Historians.

He has very justly observed in relation to our Parliaments, That they have brought their Kings under Subjection, in obliging them to communicate to them those Designs, which without them they could not execute : And the People too have prevailed over them in refusing to open their Purses towards the defraying the Charges of the War, unless they were called into those Councils which were assembled to declare it. See Pag. 17.

I cannot but confess, that if Parliaments had kept themselves within their own Sphere, as it had been enlarged by the Indulgence of our Monarchs, and not move too much like Comets, and burnt all near them with their scorching fiery Tails, our Constitution had not been disorder'd like a Sick-man's Dream, with broken Idea's of Chimerical States, King's De facto, and Original Contracts. But surely 'tis very hard that Kings alone should be tied down to Contracts, and their Subjects to none.

I can compare an Ancient English Monarch to nothing more adequate than a Man with a Rope tied to each Hand, and two strong Men pulling him different Ways, till at last they tear him Limb from Limb. Thus was Henry II. between the Encroachments of his Barons, and the Pretensions of his Clergy, reduced to an Inglorious Reign; and Monarchy, through

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through his Means, has ever since been upon the Decline. A Monarch who had made France tremble, would often sneak and cringe to the Lords himself had made: Such was the Power of Faction in those Days: Oh that I could see it abated now! Our Kings to ballance this immense Power in the Lords, erected an House of Commons. But what one lost, the other gain'd; and they were sure always to unite upon Occasion against their King, who had the same Power to struggle against, though in a different Channel; and he had the Mortification moreover to have his own Footmen, Valets, and those fed at his Table, insult over him, and prescribe to the just Prerogatives of his Crown. This was all he got in his Endeavours to restrain the Laity.

With the Clergy he had more Success after several Repulses; and finally laid them under his Feet. But what the State has got thereby let our exil'd Monarchs, our gaping Wounds and Divisions, our Immorality and Atheism, declare.

When Kings make a Property of Religion, their Subjects in the End have only the Happiness to lie under the Curse of Heaven, and to have Plagues entailed upon them from Generation to Generation.

This brings me in naturally to contemplate upon the Folly of Edward III. to let such a poisonous Weed as Wickliff grow. 'Tis true,

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he mortified the Clergy; but it proved a severe Revenge.

The Manner of prosecuting Wickliff was so cool, it puts me in mind of Dr. Clark and Mr. Whiston: A Frown from the Court shall have such a stupifying Magick therein as to strike a Convocation dumb and senseless: They shall gape and yawn, and scarce know what Heresie means.

The Clergy in our Days out-do all Complaisance: They are so far from frowning at Heresie, if their Superiors seem to favour it, that they can write Books, and prove that Heresie is a Chimera, and Schism an Airy Phantom.

Perhaps some will say that Wickliff is wrong'd; he is not the Person he is reported to be: But to clear this beyond all Dispute, I shall prove from uncontested Facts that Wickliff's Notions were wicked and abominable.

His Religion was chiefly supported by two main Pillars, viz. Sacrilege and Rebellion: In relation to the first he taught, That Endowing Churches was Paganism, and that Temporal Lords might substract whatever was given to such superstitious Purposes.

The Account Walsingham gives of Wickliff and his Doctrines I shall briefly lay down in such a Manner, that every Article may be referred to, and compared with what
other

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other Historians are pleased to say concerning him.

I. He assumed the Shew of Humility, and taught his Followers to go without Shoes.

II. That the Pope of Rome had no more Power of the Keys than a common Priest.

III. If there is a God, Temporal Lords may lawfully take away the Temporals from an offending Church.

IV. If a Temporal Lord knows that the Church does offend, he is obliged under Pain of Damnation to take away her Temporals.

V. That the Gospel alone is sufficient for Piety; *and that all Monastick Rules and Religious Discipline* add no more to the Perfection

I. Comites atq; socios unius sectæ in simul Oxoniis & alibi commorantes, talaribus indutos vestibibus de Russeto, in signum professionis amplioris incedentes nudis pedibus qui suos errores, in populo ventilarent, & palam ac publice in suis sermonibus prædicarent. *Walsingh. Hist. Angl. p. 188.*

II. Item quod Papa Romanus non habet majorem potestatem in clavibus Ecclesiæ, quam quiscunq; alius in ordine sacerdotis constitutus. *Ibid.*

III. Si Deus est, Domini Temporales possunt legitime ac meritorie auferre bona fortunæ ab Ecclesiæ delinquente. *Ibid.*

IV. Item si Dominus Temporalis noverit Ecclesiam delinquentem, tenetur sub pœna damnatione ejus ab ea temporalia auferre. *Ibid.*

V. Item quod Evangelium sufficit ad regulandum in vita ista quemlibet Christianum, & quod omnes aliæ regulæ

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tion of Christian Piety, than Whiting adds to the Substance of a Wall.

VI. That the Pope, and no other Prelate, ought to have Prisons for the Punishment of Offenders : But that they ought to have free Liberty to do what they please.

VII. That God cannot transfer perpetual Dominion to one Man, and to his Heirs.

VIII. Whether the Church in an offending State is left in the Breast of the Temporal Lord ; and he is bound to act in Pursuance of his own Determinations.

IX. A Man cannot be Excommunicated unless he is first Excommunicated by himself.

X. No Power is given by Christ to Excommunicate Persons, especially not for the Subtraction of Temporal Dues ; but rather on the contrary.

XI. 'Tis

gulae sanctorum sub quarum observantiis degunt diversi religiosi non plus perfectionis addunt Evangelio quam addit albedo parieti. Ibid.

VI. Item, quod nec Papa nec alius Prelatus Ecclesiae deberet habere Carceres aut puniendum delinquentes, sed quilibet delinquens posset libere quocumque; vellet transire & facere quae sibi placeret. *Ibid.*

VII. Deus non potest dare homini pro se & haeredibus suis imperpetuum Civile Dominium. *Ibid p. 205.*

VIII. Nunquid Ecclesia est in tali statu vel non, non est meum discutere sed Dominorum Temporalium examinare & posito casu confidenter agere, & sub poena damnationis aeternae ejus temporalia auferre. *Ibid.*

IX. Non est possibile hominem excommunicari nisi prius & principaliter excommunicatur a seipso. *Ibid.*

X. Non est exemplificata potestas a Christo vel suis discipulis excommunicandi subditos, precipue propter negationem temporalium; sed e contra. *Ibid.*

XI. Non

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XI. 'Tis impossible even in the Nature of God to grant that the Pope, or any other Person, who pretend to bind or loose, should by that very Act bind or loose.

XII. We ought to believe that he only binds and looses while he conforms himself to the Law of Christ.

XIII. A meer Clergy-Man cannot, without mortal Sin, aspire after Civil Dominion.

XIV. All Civil Government, properly speaking, is a State of Sin.

XV. God cannot exercise Civil Government; so neither could Man in a State of Innocence; nor can a Clergy-Man without Guilt do the same.

XVI. It is a mortal Sin for a Body of Clergy-Men to acquire the Goods of Fortune.

XVII. It's

XI. Non est possibile de potentia Dei absoluta, quod si Papa vel alius pretendat se quovismodo solvere vel ligare, eo ipso solvit vel ligat. *Ibid.*

XII. Credere debemus quod solum tunc solvit vel ligat quando se conformat legi Christi. *Ibid.*

XIII. Non stat pure Clericum absq; mortali peccato Civiliter Dominarium. *Ibid. p. 209.*

XIV. Dominium Civile formaliter dictum sapit inseparaliter peccatum. *Ibid.*

XV. Sicut Deus non potest exercere actus civiles nec homo in statu innocentiae, sic illicitum est alicui pure Clerico actus civiles exercere. *Ibid.*

XVI. Quodcumq; Collegium Clericorum quod acquirit bona fortunae. Redditus vel proventus, ac eis civiliter dominetur peccat mortaliter. *Ibid.*

XVII. Est

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XVII. It's absolutely impossible in the Nature of God, that Christ should exercise Civil Dominion.

XVIII. If the Laws of *England* were to take Place, the greatest Part of the Riches and Endowments in the Hands of the Religious would be taken away.

XIX. God ought to obey the Devil.

XX. There can be no Lord, nor no Bishop, while they continue in a mortal Sin.

XXI. Subjects ought not to obey Humane Laws not founded on Scripture.

XXII. No Person ought to be excommunicated but with a Prospect of his Amendment.

XXIII. If a Prelate excommunicates a Person appealing to the State, he is a Traitor.

XXIV. It's

XVII. Est impossibile de Dei potentia absolute Christum regnasse civiliter. *Ibid.*

XVIII. Major pars accumulationis bonorum fortunæ in manibus religiosorum esset dissoluta, si jura Regni Angliæ essent debite Executa. *Ibid.*

XIX. Deus obedire debet Diabolo. *Ibid.* p. 303.

XX. Nullus est Dominus, simul nullus Episcopus, nullus est Prelatus, dum est in peccato mortali. *Ibid.*

XXI. Ubi leges humanæ non fundantur in Scriptura sacra subditi non tenentur obedire. *Ibid.*

XXII. Nullus debet aliquem excommunicare nisi ex charitate & pro salute animæ suæ. *Ibid.*

XXIII. Prælati excommunicans clericum qui appellat ad Regem & Consilium Regni, eo ipso traditor Dei est & Regis Regni. *Ibid.*

XXIV. Contra

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XXIV. It's against the old and new Law, that Clergy-Men should have temporal Possessions.

XXV. There will never be Happiness or Peace in a Kingdom till those Temporals are taken away from Ecclesiasticks.

XXVI. If the Parishioners know their Curate to be a wicked or an immoral Man, they are obliged to subtract his Dues; otherwise they are Partners in his Guilt.

XXVII. That Tythes are mere Alms; and if the Curates are wicked, they may be subtracted.

XXVIII. The Baptism of an Infant is invalid, if the Priest or Godfathers or Godmothers are in a mortal Sin.

XXIX. If

XXIV. Contra antiquam legem est, & contra novam, quod viri Ecclesiastici habeant possessiones temporales. *Ibid.*

XXV. Nunquam erit bona pax & plenaria in Regno isto quousq; ista temporalia auferantur à viris Ecclesiasticis. *Ibid.*

XXVI. Quod si Parochani sciverint Curatum eorum incontinentem esse & malum, debent subtrahere ab eo decimas, & alias sunt fautores criminis & consentientes ejus malis operibus. *Ibid.* p. 304.

XXVII. Quod decimæ sunt puræ eleemosinæ, & in casu quo Curati fuerunt mali, possunt licite eas aliis conferre. *Ibid.*

XXVIII. Si aliquis Capellanus, vel Compatres vel Commatres Infantium puerorum temporibus, quibus hujusmodi pueros sive Infantes baptizaverunt & levaverunt de sacra fonte, fuerint in aliquo mortali peccato detenti, Infans hujusmodi sive puer, non est baptizatus, nec recepit tempore hujusmodi sacramentum Baptismi. *Ibid.*

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XXIX. Qui

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XXIX. If a Bishop confers the sacred Orders of the Priesthood, he that is personally ordained is no Priest, unless he be also ordained by God.

XXX. If a Man is truly contrite, all manner of Confession is unnecessary and impertinent.

XXXI. The Sacrament of Confirmation is not reserved to Bishops.

XXXII. In the Apostles Times there were but two Orders in the Church, Priests and Deacons.

XXXIII. Archbishops, Bishops, Archdeacons, &c. are the Pimps of Antichrist.

XXXIV. All Matrimonial Contracts are void which are enter'd into upon the Consideration of Comfort, mutual Assistance, or Con-

XXXIX. Quicumq; Episcopus conferens alicui sacros ordines Presbyteratus, hujusmodi personaliter ordinatus, non est Presbyter ratione collationis hujusmodi sibi facta, nisi sit electus à Deo. *Ibid.*

XXX. Quod si homo fuerit debite contritus omnis confessio exterior est sibi superflua & inutilis. *Ibid.* p. 305.

XXXI. Collatio Sacramenti Confessionis non est Episcopis reservata. *Article imp. à Joh. Woodfordo, Art. 5. apud Orth. Gratium.*

XXXII. Quod tempore Pauli sufficiebant duo ordines Clericorum, Sacerdos, & Diaconus. *Ibid.* Art. 6.

XXXIII. Quod isti duodecim sint procuratores Antichristi, Papa, Cardinales, Patriarchæ, Archiepiscopi, Præsules, Episcopi, Archdiaconi, Officiales, & Decani, &c. *Ibid.*

XXXIV. Quod antiqui qui ex cupiditate rerum temporalium, ex spe mutuarum juvaminum aut ex causa excusandæ

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Convenience of Life, by Persons who had no Hopes of Children.

XXXV. Divorce by Reason of Consanguinity is an Humane Ordinance.

XXXVI. Whoever is Meek and Humble, he is the Greatest in the Church, and the Vicar of Christ.

XXXVII. All Things which happen come to pass by unavoidable Necessity.

XXXVIII. For Temporal Dominion, the Justice of the Person who governs is so requisite, that no Person who is guilty of a mortal Sin can claim any Property in the Goods of Life.

XXXIX. People may at their Pleasure punish their offending Governors.

XL. Universities, Colleges, &c. are Heathenish, and do as much Hurt to the Church as the Devil,

cusandæ libidinis, licet de prole desperent copulantur invicem, non vere matrimonialiter copulantur. *Art. 7.*

XXXV. Causæ Divortis ratione Consanguinitatis vel Affinitatis sunt infundabiliter humanitus ordinatæ. *Art. 8.*

XXXVI. Quicumque est humilior servilior in amore Christi, quod suam Ecclesiam, ambilior ille tam in Ecclesia, major & proximus est Christi Vicarius, *Art. 15.*

XXXVII. Quod omnia quæ evenient absolute necessario evenient. *Art. 17.*

XXXVIII. Quod ad verum Dominium seculare requiritur justitia Dominantis sic quod nullus in peccato mortali est Dominus alicujus rei. *Art. 16.*

XXXIX. Populares possunt ad suum arbitrium Dominos delinquentes corrigere. *Art. Con. à Con. Const. Art. 17.*

XL. Universitates, Studia, Collegia, Graduationes, & Magisteria in eisdem, &c. *Art. 29.*

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These are the most material Articles against John Wickliff, in which we find a plain levelling Scheme both in Church and State.

He was (says Walsingham) summon'd to answer to such Articles as were alledged against him: And he gave in the following equivocating Defence, which I shall here exhibit to the Reader as I find it in the above-mentioned Author. Hist. Angl. p. 206.

I. That as to what he said concerning *Perpetual Dominion*, he meant, That the Church could not establish any perpetual Political Dominion for ever; nor that the Laity could establish a perpetual Civil Power; nor could God himself be the Author of any such Power, because he had promis'd a Dissolution of the Empire of this World, and another more heavenly one to commence in its stead.

By the first Solution John Wickliff seem'd to have in his Eye, That the Pope's Lease to the Patrimony of St. Peter might expire in Time, and an Opportunity might be taken to refuse renewing the same. But this was the least of his Faults: I shall proceed to the next.

II. Whereas he said, *If there is a God, Temporal Lords may lawfully take away the Temporals from an offending Church,* the Proposition

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position meant no more, than, That God might command those Temporal Lords to punish the Church with a Forfeiture of her Temporals.

It would be very difficult to reconcile the Explanation with the Grammatical Construction of the Words; and the Reader may evidently see his shuffling, and winding, and wresting his own Sense. However, this Article was evidently contrived to encourage Sacrilege; a Bait which could not fail to take with the Duke of Lancaster.

III. That it is not possible for *any Man to be Excommunicated, unless he first Excommunicated himself*, he meant no more, than, That Excommunication could not take Effect *clave errante*; but there must be some previous Crime in the Offender, which must draw down that Sentence upon him.

IV. He did not deny absolutely the Lawfulness of Excommunication for Civil Rights: But he denied that they ought purely to be the Motive of sending People to Hell; but the Cause of God must in some Measure be affected before such a Sentence ought to be passed upon him.

V. As to that Article, *We ought to believe he only binds and looses while he conforms himself to the Law of Christ*, he only meant,
That

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That he ought in his Censure to have the Rules of the Gospel and of Christianity in his Eye.

VI. That Kings may take away Temporals from those Clergy who abused them, he meant no more than that the Civil Power might punish Ecclesiastical Persons.

The Reader may easily perceive that Wickliff only shuffled off a Prosecution in this Answer. But his Propositions, nakedly examin'd in themselves, are abominably wicked.

The First Article is the grossest Prevarication that ever was known: He takes away all Church-Government, and tells you he meant the State: He then takes away the Civil Power, and brings in the Church triumphant to explain his Meaning.

The Second is not much better: If there is a God, Temporal Lords may substract the Temporalities of the Church. I grant that the Temporal Lords may take away the Goods of the Church; and they may likewise take away the private Property of the Laity: But they cannot do the first without Sacrilege, nor the last without manifest Injustice. The Laws of God are superior to the Laws of Men: Nor can the Civil Power alienate what is directly made the Property of God, unless they first make God subject to the Civil Power; which

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*which is Blasphemy to assert. Accordingly we find in * Gratian, That a King, nor no other Person shall transfer a Monastery to any other than Ecclesiastical Property; nor shall he exchange but with another Monastery; nor shall he expose the same to Sale.*

I conclude Wickliff maintained a most gross sacrilegious Notion, That the Temporalities might be taken from an offending Church; which will justify all the Sacrilege of Henry VIII's Reign, and give a fair Pretence to have the same put in Execution this Day.

His Salvo, Provided God commands, will do no Service, because this supposes Divine Revelation to concur; which can be no standing Rule to serve these Exigencies, because it has long since ceased, and in all Probability will not be reassum'd in this World.

But however, he gives a fair Opportunity to Pretenders to Inspiration to rob the Church, granting even his own Explanation to signify any Thing.

The Third Article is ambiguous, and contrived to bear two Senses to serve either Turn, which Wickliff should please to favour: It may without any Violation of the Sense support

** Nemini regum aut cuiquam hominum in proprium jus liceat monasterium tradere, nisi ad aliud monasterium, vel commutare nisi cum alio monasterio, quocunq; commercio vendere. Dec. p. 2. Caus. 16, 17. c. 40.*

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port the extravagant Notion, That every Person has the Power of the Keys, and cannot be excommunicated without his own Consent.

The fourth Article is calculated to encourage robbing the Church of her Revenues: For if she is not supported by the State, and cannot inflict Spiritual Censures upon the Obstinate, she is left in a very naked and defenceless Condition.

The Fifth Article founds all Spiritual Dominion upon Grace; and consequently invalidates all the Ministerial Offices performed by Priests in a mortal Sin.

His Evasion is but a poor Shift, not supported by the Grammatical Construction of the Words, nor favour'd with the least Shadow of Probability that it was his Meaning: He could not have such an awkward Way of expressing himself, as to speak contrary to common Sense, and the Notions he would deliver to the World.

The Sixth Article wanted a more particular Dilatation, because he did not state whether the Goods should be compleatly taken away, or converted to some other Ecclesiastical Use. The latter would have done but little Service to Wickliff's Patrons at that Time, who had other Views than to do either God, or their Sovereign, Justice.

To

Preface by the English Editor. xxv

To conclude: If the Reader turns over these Articles with an impartial Eye, he will easily perceive the Spirit of those pretended Reformers: The Levelling Scheme was closely pursued: Moreover, a Vein of Policy and Cunning run through the whole. The Bait was laid to bring Princes into the Story, and halloo them upon the Church; which they were likely to pursue when they were offer'd her Vitals for their Prey, and a Reward of their Chase.

Walsingham, much to our Purpose, observes, That Wickliff, when he was called to an Account, soften'd his Propositions: But when he preached before the Laity, he gave them their full Latitude†.

To prove the Articles upon Wickliff will be no difficult-Task, if we consider,

John Woodford had Wickliff's Books by him: He extracted his Articles from the said Writings. The only Question remains, Whether he perform'd the Work faithfully, or no?

I would ask, Whether any Man will suppose Woodford only rais'd Phantasms in his own Brain, and took such Pains only to answer his own Chimera's? Woodford must be egregiously guilty of false Quotations; which Cheats would prevail but a very short Time,

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† Walsingh. Hist. Angl. p. 290.

xxvi Preface by the English Editor.

when Wickliff's Books were easy to be recur'd to, and would blast the pretended Answer for ever. But not only Woodford, but even the Council of Constance harmoniously agreed in the same Accusations. Here was no room for Malice or false Representations: The very Words are quoted; brought upon the publick Stage of the World; exposed to the common Censure. Such an Appeal would have made only the Council ridiculous, if their Assertions could have been so easily convicted of Falsehood.

I would ask whether any Man in future Ages will question whether the Bishop of Bangor maintained such particular Notions, as are not only charged upon him by particular Writers; but perhaps specified by the Lower House of Convocation in their Remonstrance against him.

The Council of Constance declares, That they commanded Wickliff's Books to be carefully examined by the Doctors and Masters of the University of Oxford, who made Report of Forty five Articles, which in their Opinion were directly Heretical. And these Articles were accordingly condemned by the Council, as the Reader may see Sess. 8.

The same Articles are recited in Pope Martin the 5th's Bull, at the End of the Council; and whatever was by the Council done in that Case, he solemnly ratified.

The

Preface by the English Editor. xxvii

The very same Articles, in Number forty five, were acknowledged ever after as Wickliff's, and publickly maintain'd by Huss and Jerom, as I proved in the Letter to the Bishop of Ely. So that we have the Testimony of both Papists and Protestants in this Case.

*Moreover, to return to John Woodford, He, as * Labbee observes, was commanded by the Archbishop of Canterbury to oppugn eighteen Errors of John Wickliff's, taken out of his Trialogue, and which were condemn'd by a Synod at London in the Year 1397. The Substance of them I need not here recite, because they have been insisted upon before, and are contained in the Body of the Articles exhibited against him in this Preface, except one, which struck at Infant Baptism*

Surely no Man can pretend to say that all these are Forgeries of the Papists, because Wickliff's Books were candidly appeal'd to both by the Council of Constance and by John Woodford.

We have the Corroborating Testimony of a † Synod at Cologn, Anno 1423. which ap-

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proves

* Labbee, Con. Tom. 11. par. 2. p. 2080.

† Hæreses, Hæreticorumq; Johannis Wickliff, Johannis Huss, & Hieronymi de Praga, Doctrinas erroneas, Anathematizamus, Reprobamus, & Cotaliter Condemnamus; asserentes cum Concilio Generali Constantiensî quod omnes

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proves of the Censure of the Council of Constance as just and righteous.

If the Papists were never so partial, they could not possibly impose such Falshoods upon Wickliff when his Books were publickly to be seen in the World; and Wickliff's Friends have nothing to alledge on their Side but positive Assertions, without the least Shadow of Proof.

I look upon the Testimony of such a Council as that of Constance to be equivalent to fifty Authors: And these are not wanting on our Side.

What shall we say to Thomas Waldensis, who does not only recite the Errors above mentioned, but gravely refutes them.

H rpsfield agrees entirely with him, nor does so much as pretend to dispute his Authority; from whom he extracts the chief Heads of Wickliff's Errors.

*A Council held at * London, Anno 1382, some Years before that in which William Woodford was employed, recites his Errors about Excommunication, Dominion of Grace, &c. Some of Wickliff's Follower, viz. Nicolas Hereford,*

nes hujusmodi Articuli aut sunt piarum Aurium offensivi, aut Seditiosi, aut Scandalosi, vel manifeste fide Devii seu expressam Heresim in continentēs, prout in sententia lata contra Dietos hæreticos & ipsorum perversa Dogmata plenius continetur. Syn. Colon. Ann. 1423. apud Labbee Con. Tom. 12. p. 363, 364.

See this Book, p. 32, 33.

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ford, Philip Rapyndon, and John Aysheton, were summoned to the Council, and renounced the Errors charged upon them by the Council in a great measure. However, to some particular Articles they did not answer with that Candour and Freedom as was requisite: Upon which a Day prefixed, in which they were to appear, and be admonished to return a positive Answer, under Pain of being otherwise deemed Hereticks.

Some of the Articles to which they refused to give a clear and satisfactory Answer were these:

To the Article, * That God ought to obey the Devil, they said, God did in some Measure owe the Obedience of Charity to the Devil: Which was as much as to say, God was obliged to love the Devil.

They were also required to give an express Answer to the Question, Whether a Prelate could excommunicate a Godly Man? By which we may perceive they founded all Church Censures, as well as Civil Penalties, upon Grace.

To

* Interrogati an Deus, debeat aliquem modum obedientiae Diabolo dixerunt quod sic. Scilicet obedientiam charitatis quia diligit eum & punit eum ut debet. *Conc. Lond. ap. Labbes Conc. Tom. 11. par. 2. p. 2058.*

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To the Question, Whether a Religious was obliged to get his Bread with the Labour of Hands; they refused to give any Answer.

We must observe in all this Process the Criminals did not pretend to deny the Errors charged upon them: But some they recanted, and others they pertinaciously insisted upon and maintain'd; which, in my Opinion, is as strong Evidence that Wickliff maintain those Notions, as can be produced.

Moreover, Harpsfield gives us an Account, from the * Registrum Herefordense, of one John Tresvauntius, Bishop of Hereford, who prosecuted a Priest and a Lay-Man even to a Recantation, for scattering some of Wickliff's Notions: Amongst the rest two were remarkable, viz. That none could be a Priest in a mortal Sin; and, That it was unlawful upon any Account to wage War.

He also gives another Relation of Courteney, Archbishop of Canterbury, who reduced a Lady back to a Nunnery, who had been seduced from thence by the Poison of Wickliff's Notions. From whence I conclude, the same Spirit of Lust, and Contempt of the most sacred Vows, animated Wickliff, as afterwards inspired the Sisters of the German Reformation.

* Harpsfield's Hist. Wickliffiana, c. 16.

Reformation; rather to turn Whores than keep their Vow of Chastity.

But in such Cases as these, Weakness of Argument is made up with the Strength and Prevalence of Nature; and Luther found a great Harvest of such Converts.

The same learned and diligent Ecclesiastical Historian has obliged the World with another Recantation of the Lord Clifford's: The Substance of which was, That the seven Sacraments are only dead Signs, and work no real Effect: That Marriage was an indispensable Duty both in the Laicks and Religious; whoever neglects being married when he can get a Wife is worse than a Murderer, destroys the Seed, and does his best to thin not only the Kingdom of Heaven, but the Regions of Eternal Darknes: That Children are the worse for being baptized by a Priest.

He likewise, from the Arundel Register, tells us of one John Becket, a zealous Wickliffite, who maintain'd, That neither King or Bishop were to be obeyed if involved in a mortal Sin: That Marriage ought not to prevent an amicable Association between a Man and a Woman, if they like one another: That Wickliff's Doctrine was the most pure of any taught in a Christian Church.

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He says, moreover, That one Reginald Pecock, Bishop of Chichester, gave in to the Impieties of Wickliff. But to make his Reformation more perfect, he lopp'd off four Supernummarary Articles in the Apostles Creed. Yet God gave him Grace to recant; and he ended his Days in Retirement and Repentance, being deprived of his Bishoprick.

These are Instances produced by Harpsfield, taken out of the publick Registers and Ecclesiastical Records, an Historian who deserved not the invidious Reflections cast upon him by Nicholson, in his Historical Library. I am pretty positive his Lordship never read that Historian; yet he takes a great deal of Pains to make us believe he had run him over with a Critick's Eye. He is represented in the worst Colours; and yet the Bishop is forced to confess, that Archbishop Parker took him into his particular Care, and gave him all the Assistance he could wish for in compiling his History. He also subjoins the Testimony of the Author of the Antiq. Oxon. which commends him for a Learned and Industrious Historian; and yet the Bishop cannot help snarling at a Character he is resolved never to arrive at himself.

Another corroborating Circumstance to confirm us in the Opinion Wickliff was not wrong'd, is the Propositions Wickliff laid before

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fore the Parliament; which are to be seen Pag. 29, 30. of the Book, to which this Preface belongs.

He also tells us, That Wickliff, in the Council of London above mentioned, in the Year 1382, recanted; and that his Recantation was suppressed by Sir Henry Spelman; as was also a Decree of the University of Oxford, repeating the Decisions of the Council of London, which may be evinced from Wingeon, an Author who lived at that Time, and who is above all Exceptions in this Matter; for that he set down in his Journal whatever happened in England as it came to his Knowledge.

I leave to the Candid Reader whether all this Evidence summon'd together, is not as strong as can be desired; or whether all Wickliff's Friends put together can ever clear him of the Errors charged upon him.

I leave what I have said to every serious Man's Reflection. Wickliff could not be the Glory of our Isle, unless we glory in Impiety and Enthusiasm, in obviating all the Laws of God and Man, and destroying the Peace of Society.

Can a worse Notion be entertained in the World, than that both Priests and Kings cease to be, and lose all their Power, in a mortal Sin? Could ever any Notion be more effectually contrived to expose the Church to

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Enthusiasts, and the State to Rebellion? How many Thrones would it vacate in Europe? And how many Religious Sacrifices would it extinguish? What Comfort could we take in partaking the pure Ordinances of Christianity? Or what Peace would our Monarchs find when they live under the continual Apprehensions of being dethroned by the Saints; and what is worse, we have no particular Criteria to know the Saint by? But his own Pretensions are the only Authority he can shew to the World, by which he is capacitated to turn his Monarch out of Doors. If the Saint is guilty of complicated Wickednesses, if he is a Murderer, an Extortioner, an Oppressor of the Poor, if he tells you that he is a chosen Vessel, and has the Seeds of Grace still latent in him, his Monarch must humbly resign his Sceptre into his Hands, receive his Sentence from his Mouth, be bound in Chains of Iron, or have his Head chopp'd off upon a Scaffold, at the Pleasure of the predominant and insulting Saint.

O unhappy Country! What Confusions, what Miseries, and Distractions, wait upon you? These are the Notions at which Men now drive hard. The Seeds of Prophaneness and Blasphemy, which for some Years have been swelling in the Ground, are now springing into the Light, and expanding their little Foliages over the Surface of the Earth.

Our

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Our Soil, tho' for some Hundred of Years cleared from Wickliffitism, exprefly fignified by that Name, yet has been fermented by the Leaven working through the whole Mafs under different Characters.

The same Spirit animated all the Rebellions we have had fince : It work'd up the Lancastrian Ufurpation, with the Murder of Edward the Fourth's Sons, and poured fourth innocent Blood upon the Ground, till the Reign of Henry the Eighth.

Under him it plundered Churches, destroyed Monasteries, and, in fhort, wrought fuch Convulfions as have fhock'd Religion ever fince.

In Queen Elizabeth's Time it brought a Queen to the Scaffold, and taught a Precedent which will never be forgotten : We want only Power, not a wicked perverse Will, to act the same again at this Day.

What it has done fince, let every Man know : The Aged can tell the Young ; and the Youth can experimentally and feelingly instruct their Posterity.

*We are every Day in danger of reducing the wicked Notions of Wickliff into Practice : Even Christianity is in the utmost Danger of being entirely ruined, while it is fo vigorously attacked on the one Side, and fo lazily defended on the other : Her Bulwarks have been thrown down ; her intrinfick Powers de-
rived ;*

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rived; and her external Discipline, in Effect, taken away. What a dark Prospect have our Children before them of Times, not unlike those threatened in the Holy Scriptures, when the Abomination of Desolation shall possess the Tabernacle, and sit in the Holy Places.

Perhaps the Spirit of Wickliff may be more evidently seen in the present Bishop of Bangor's Performances; who has convinced the World, that when Men begin to break into one Article of Faith or Religion, the Devil will not let them stop there; but if they have taken his Earnest, he expects they should complete the Work, and go through with their Bargain.

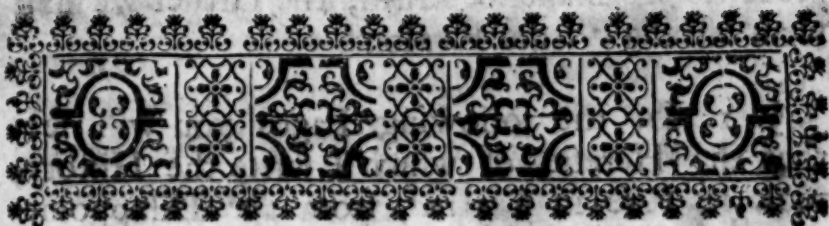
I have no more to add, only to wish the Reader Impartiality, Candour, and Good Nature, and bid him Farewell.

M. E A R B E R Y.

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
HERESIE

*Of John Wickliffe, John Hus,
and Jerom of Prague.*

AND OF THE
BOHEMIAN WARS
Which happened thereupon.

BOOK I.



HERE is nothing more difficult
than to write the History of the
later Heresies; for besides that it
is too large and intricate to be
treated of with that exactness it
ought: This History is so extra-
vagant in its Original, and so surprizing in its
principal Circumstances, that the nearer Ap-
proaches

proaches we make to Truth, the farther we shall seem estrang'd from Reason.

§. 1. IN the following Pages you will see, that the Heresie, of which I write the History, took its Rise in *England*, from the Disappointment of a certain Priest, in not being advanc'd to the Bishoprick of *Winchester*. It was upheld by the Duke of *Lancaster*, as favouring his Designs of excluding his Brother's eldest Son from the Succession to the Crown. The King gave it leave to increase, to the end that he might thereby recover the Authority over the Persons and Revenues of the *Church*, which he pretended a Right to from the Laws of *William* the Conqueror. His Mistress receiv'd it into her Protection, as giving Countenance to her Debaucheries: So that in vain its Progress was oppos'd by the Pope, and *English* Bishops. Nor did the visible Punishment of Heaven upon the King, stir up more Prudence and Caution in his Successor. And the Primate of *England*, for having conniv'd at its Establishment, became the first Victim to that Error.

The Seditious, Murders and Rebellions, hereby occasion'd, were all incapable to shake off from the *Englishmen* the Lethargy they had fallen into, or to make them see, that the Down-fal of that Heresie was no less the Interest of the State than of the Church. Nor did the terrible Death of its Author, or the Vengeance of Heaven, which shew'd it self in so visible a manner upon him, prevent his passing for a Saint amongst his Disciples and Followers.

The Contagion spread itself into *Bohemia*, by a Decree brought from the University of *Oxford*, into that of *Prague*. The Suspicions, which

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the *Bohemian* Doctors had contracted against those *Germans*, who were in Possession of the best Preferments in that University, brought it into the publick Lectures. And *Hus* and *Jerom* of *Prague* openly profess'd themselves its Defenders. From hence sprung new Troubles, and new Insurrections, insomuch that *Winceslaus* lost his Crown, by not being able to put a stop to them.

The Heat and Thunder of the Council of *Constance* serv'd only to give new Life to the Ashes of *John Hus* and *Jerom* of *Prague*: And a furious Zeal to revenge their Deaths caused a great Defection in *Bohemia*.

Zisca, so famous for his Victories, placed himself at the Head of the Revolters, and came off triumphant in many pitch'd Battels against the whole Forces of *Bohemia* and *Germany*, being always Conqueror, and never conquer'd. His Successors at the first maintain'd their Heresie with like Success: But not being Heirs to his good Fortune, any more than to his Credit and Authority among the *Hussites*, they at length lost many Battels; yet were they not thereby discourag'd, nor did the Fury of their false Zeal abate, 'till they turned a well-peopled Nation into an horrible and desolate Wilderness.

The Catholick League, procur'd by means of the Council of *Basil*, at length oppress'd them; and the charitable Condescension of the Church, in admitting the Remnant of that Sect to a Reconciliation, gave Peace to *Bohemia*, and was the last step towards the utter abolishing of this Heresie.

This History cannot end more agreeably, than in the Reconciliation of the *Hussites* to the Church, since it was that which in effect sup-

press'd the Spirit of Rebellion in this Heresie ; and convinced the Maintainers of it, that to live quietly was their chief Security. This, however, is certain, that since that time they have made no Disturbance ; nor hath their Return to the Church been followed by the least Appearance of a Relapse. Thus have I given you the general Design of my History, and will now descend to Particulars.

§. 2. IN the Year 1365, the Heresie of *Wickliffe* commenced in *England*, occasion'd by the Bishoprick of *Winton*.

John Wickliffe, Rector of *Lutterworth*, in the County of *Leicester*, had so well concerted his Measures towards the obtaining that Dignity, that his Designs could not possibly have failed, unless they had been prevented by some extraordinary Accidents, which humane Foresight could not discover. He was a Man well skill'd in the Learning of his Age, and had charg'd his Memory with all the most intricate Parts of *Aristotle*, and the less intelligible Topicks of School-Divinity. This he taught publicly at *Oxford*, in the Quality of the King's Professor: And as he excell'd amongst his Collegues, his Auditory was generally more crowded than that of the rest. A Bishoprick was the ordinary Retreat of this sort of Men ; and if any of them, after having for so many Years receiv'd the Applauses of the University, should have the Ambition to think himself deserving of it, the thing was so common, and appear'd so reasonable, that no Body was offended at it. The Chapters too, upon whose Voices the Election absolutely depended, were disposed to prefer the Divinity-Professors to all others, as supposing them less
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vers'd in Quirks and Cavils, and consequently less capable of contesting their Privileges.

§. 3. But as the Court of *Rome* did often intervene in Affairs of that Nature, by reason of the concern they had in having the Sees filled with Persons true to their Interest, that they might meet with no Opposition in levying the *Peter-Pence*, a Tribute which was exacted yearly upon every Chimney in the Kingdom: It happened, that the Ministers of that Court oppos'd the Election of *Wickliffe*, either because he was suspected by them, or that they had solicited for another. It is not exactly known whether his Exclusion was solely owing to that Cause: However 'tis certain, *Wickliffe* wholly imputed it to the Holy See, and sought for means to avenge himself of the Pope. To do this there was only one Method practicable, which consisted in blasting his Reputation: But herein he knew, that Caution and Address were necessary; and that his Designs must at present be dissembled. He fear'd to be immediately oppress'd, if they should happen to be discover'd, before he had secur'd himself of a powerful Protector. Thus was *Wickliffe* well aware of the absolute Necessity he lay under to keep Silence, until it should be permitted him to speak with Impunity. He chose therefore to wait for a favourable Conjunction; and in the mean time applied himself to the Perusal of the Schismatical Writings of those, who had defended the Emperors and the Anti-Popes against the Popes: He carefully fill'd his Mind with the Sentiments of the later Hereticks, who had separated themselves from the Communion of the Church; and from these two envenom'd Fountains he suck'd in such Errors, as might more easily

easily be insinuated into the Hearts of the *Englishmen*, upon account of the relation they bore to their natural Inclinations. At length he resolv'd to preach against Transubstantiation, Church-Government, Religious Houses, and the unequal Distribution of temporal Goods. But before that he had explained himself upon these four Heads, which were equally destructive to the State, as to Religion, he advanced certain Propositions, from which he hop'd to draw Consequences no less prejudicial to the Church than the former ; and of the Falsity of which the *English* could not easily be convinc'd. He taught, that *Englishmen* were not bound in Conscience to pay the *Peter-Pence* ; and that if any one had, through Craft or Subtilty, freed himself from that Tribute, he was under no Obligation to make Restitution. He brought into dispute the Title, by vertue whereof the Commissioners of the Holy See exacted that Tribute : But as he wanted Proof to shew it to be false, he took upon him to assert, that it was unjust on both sides ; *i. e.* as well on the part of Pope *Innocent III.* who accepted it, as on the part of King *John*, who had subjected his Kingdom to it. For that his Holiness had no right to impose a Tax upon *England*, which he had never conquered by Force of Arms, nor delivered from any Tyranny : And that as to King *John*, how sovereign a Prince soever he might be esteem'd, yet did not his Power extend so far, as to make his Crown Tributary for the sake of his own particular Interests ; or that if he could, yet that the Tribute ought not to continue longer than his Life, nor pass to his Successors, who had not in like manner, as he, murder'd their Nephews, and consequently ought not to be reduc'd to the Necessity of purchasing so dear
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an Absolution from those Censures which they had never incurr'd. Then did *Wickliffe* examine into the Revenues of the Church, and maintain, that though the Piety of those Christians was excusable, who were moved to give them by the good use the Church made of 'em in their Days, yet the Abuses which had since been introduc'd were so excessive, that the Parliament ought to retrench them, and employ the better part of them in supplying the Necessities of the State, wherewith the meaner part of the People had been burden'd. He added, that the Church possessing two third parts of the Kingdom, it was strange that it should be exempt from all Contributions, and enjoy a Repose, which in the greatest part of its Ministers degenerated into softness, and which was not in the least chargeable to them: And he would often wonder, that the difference of Ministers should rather proceed from the Character that was given them, than from the Sanctity of their Life, and Purity of their Doctrine: And he taught, that to work with their own Hands had been imposed upon the Clergy, as well as upon all others ever since the Fall of *Adam*; That Tythes were but Alms, which might be refused to those who demanded them only, that they might glut themselves with Voluptuousness, instead of doing publick Penance for their Crimes.

§. 4. THESE new Doctrines, delivered with an artful Vehemence, by a Man naturally apt to be transported, pass'd with ease among the Populace for an extraordinary Zeal; and acquired to *Wickliffe* so great a Reputation, that the Duke of *Lancaster* became desirous to hear him, and was almost as soon his Disciple, as his Auditor. He was

was a Prince, whose Interests went hand in hand with the Doctrines *Wickliffe* taught ; from whence he was able to draw great Advantages : He was at that time the eldest of the King's Sons ; but had not been originally so ; for the Prince of *Wales*, so famous in History for taking Prisoner *John King of France*, and for re-establishing *Peter the Cruel* on the Throne of *Castile*, was born before him. But that young Hero was now dead, and had left behind him but one Son, and him so young, that the Duke of *Lancaster* had imagin'd to himself, that it would not be impossible to exclude him from the Crown. The Principles he went upon were, that the Right of Succession was not sufficiently explain'd in the Laws of *William the Conqueror* ; and that the younger Son of the same King *William* had succeeded to the Crown, to his elder Brother's Prejudice. But his principal Reason consisted in the famous Process, in a like Case, for the Dutchy of *Bretagne*, which the Battel of *Aurai* had effectually divided. For the *Englishmen* having taken part with the Conqueror, and pretended that *Bretagne* was held in Fee of them, they must either be oblig'd to follow that Law, which they had defended by Force of Arms ; or at least confess themselves, by a contrary Proceeding, to have committed an evident Injustice. The eldest Son of the Duke of *Bretagne* died before his Father, and left Issue only one Daughter, who was afterwards married to *Charles of Blois* : The younger Son, Count *de Monfort*, put in his Claim to the Dutchy (though he had been already condemn'd by the King in Parliament) to the Exclusion of that Princess, and accordingly took Possession of the Dukedom. The Count *de Blois* lost his Life in a Combat ; and his Widow made an Accommodation

dation with the Son of him who had deprived her. The Design of the Duke of *Lancaster* was in like manner to treat the Son of his deceased Brother the Prince of *Wales*: But as *England* was far more considerable than *Bretagne*, so the Duke was sensible that he should meet with greater Obstacles than those which Count *de Montfort* had surmounted. The chief whereof sprung from the Admiration the *Englishmen* had for the Virtue of that Prince, and the good Inclinations that had inspir'd in them towards him; and which yet so far prevailed upon them, that nothing could be more insupportable to them, than to see his Son supplanted, and those Hopes cast away, which they had conceived of the Infant, that he would be no less valiant or successful than his Father. This popular Love could not be rooted out of the Hearts of the People, unless by two Expedients, which 'twas necessary should speedily be put in execution, for that their Operation ought to be of long continuance. The one was to accustom the People of *England* to speak so often, and so favourably of the Duke of *Lancaster*, that they should not have leisure left them to entertain themselves with the Heroick Actions of the Prince of *Wales*. And the other was, to tie the People without thinking of it, in so strong a Bond to the Duke of *Lancaster*, that they should be so far from refusing him to be their King, as even themselves to demand him. And this imaginary Bond was the Heresie of *Wickliffe*: For if by any means he could bring it to pass, that the immense Lands and Treasures, which the Clergy were possess'd of, should be once taken away, that he knew would destroy their Authority, which was the chief Authority of Parliament; and in like sort enervate that of the Nobility, whose great

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support sprung from the filling up Ecclesiastical Preferments : So that the whole would almost devolve upon the People, of whom the lower House was compos'd. This became an invincible Temptation to *Wickliffe*, to defend the Duke of *Lancaster's* Pretensions to the Crown, in hopes that that Prince being in the same Sentiments with himself would sacrifice to him the Interests of the Clergy and Nobility. And these were the true Motives which prevail'd upon the first Prince of the Blood in *England*, to declare himself a Favourer of *Wickliffe*.

§. 5. THE Reasons upon which the Mistress of the King soon after embraced the same Counsels, were neither so concealed, nor of such Consequence. She was a *Spaniard*, by Name *Alice Pierce*, of whom *Edward III.* became so enamour'd that she alone governed all things under the Name, and with the Consent of that old King : She was under no Apprehensions of a Fall during his Life, so confident was she in her own Charms. But it was by no means probable that the King could live long ; and the Parliament being in Possession, had it in their Power to call to account the Favourites of the deceased King, who, though indirectly, had meddled with publick Affairs. If the Prince of *Wales* should succeed to the Crown, the King's Mistress could expect no Protection from an Infant, who was himself under Guardians. But if the Duke of *Lancaster* should be advanced to the Regal Dignity, then indeed she might take occasion to escape out of *England* before the Parliament could seize upon her Person ; and during that Absence might reconcile her self to the Members, of which that Assembly was composed. The King himself, in whose
hearing

hearing his Son and his Mistress were continually extolling the extraordinary Eloquence and Merit of *Wickliffe*, gave Credit to the new Doctrines ; and though he forbore publickly to espouse them, yet that seem'd owing to his fear of irritating the Pope, whose Power was certainly at that time much more formidable than it is at present. For though the Estates of the People were then of less value, yet, in case of a Rupture between the Pope and their Sovereign, the most part of them thought themselves bound in Conscience to adhere to the Interests of the Holy See, without considering either the Justice or Injustice of the Cause. However, the Infection began to spread it self, and many were subject to its Influence ; even those, whose chief concern it ought to have been to suppress it, conniv'd at its Increase. Indeed, those Men who knew how to dive into the Secrets of Affairs, and who had reflected upon the easy Conduct of *Edward*, so contrary to the Violence of his natural Temper, imagined that his Design was only to avenge himself of the Holy See, to which he imputed the loss of *Guienne*. And in truth, whether it was that the Advancement of the *English* Grandeur became suspected to the Popes, after that they were convinced that *Edward* had held Intelligence with their Enemies ; and the Pretension of that King to the Empire had perswaded the most incredulous, that his Ambition was unbounded ; yet that Prince saw those very Measures disconcerted by the Popes, which before they had approved of, and found that the *Germans*, out of Fear of Ecclesiastical Censures, had delayed to execute the Promises they had made to elect him King of the *Romans*. The Duke of *Lancaster* his Son, after having levied an Army capable of making the

Claim of his Wife to the Kingdom of *Castile* considerable, was constrained to disband it in dread of the same Thunder. And a Cardinal *Legate* had reconciled the *Dutch* with the King of *France*, after having disjoined them from a League with *England*: So that the *English* were no longer considered as a Support to the Holy See, or reckon'd amongst the number of its Confederates. The most Christian King *Charles V.* hereupon made no Scruple to declare War against them, and to confiscate the Dutchy of *Guienne*, at the same time that the *Scots*, weary of their Allegiance, had revolted, and sent into the Field the number of thirty thousand Men. *Edward*, who march'd himself in Person to enslave that valiant Nation, receiving Intelligence of the Attempt *Charles* had made to recover *Guienne*, finding himself unable to arrive soon enough with Succours, had recourse to the Pope, and press'd the Excommunication of *Charles*; for that in the late Treaty between *France* and *England*, it had been in expresse Terms agreed by the two Crowns, That he who should violate that Treaty should be cut off from the Communion of the Church: But his Holiness refused to cast the eldest Son of the Church into that Extremity; which nevertheless did not so much enrage the *English*, as the Refusal to levy a Subsidy of a Tenth upon the Clergy of that Kingdom, towards the Maintenance of the War; To do which the King had sent to *Rome* to demand Permission, and which the *Sieurs d'Albert* and *d'Armagnac* had by their Instructions from thence exacted from the Clergy of *France*. 'Twas in vain that his Minister remonstrated to the Pope, that without that Subsidy *Guienne* would be infallibly lost. His Holiness was resolved neither to yield to the Entreaties
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of a Prince suspected to enfeeble the Authority of the Sacred See to the utmost of his Power; and who would not have put himself into the Posture of a Suppliant, unless reduced to the utmost Necessity; nor to the Cabals of the Officers of the Apollolick Chamber, whose Interest it was to support the *Englishmen* in the Possession of *Guienne*; for that the Pensions which they drew from *England*, were assigned to them out of the Revenue of that Province.

But the King was exasperated against the Pope for another more apparent Reason. After that he had met with this Refusal from *Rome*, he immediately address'd himself to his Clergy, and demanded of them the Money by way of Loan. The Clergy excused themselves, for fear of Censures from *Rome*. The King, who was not in a Condition to compel them, had dissembled his Displeasure, until he could discover it without hazard to his Authority: And this so wish'd-for Opportunity presented it self in the Person of *Wickliffe*, since that it was but to favour *Wickliffe*, to depress the whole Clergy of *England* under the Colour of Justice.

To understand rightly the bottom of the whole Affair, it will be expedient to know, that before *William* Duke of *Normandy* had made a Conquest of *England*, the Laws of that Country were not written Laws, but conveyed down by the Tradition of the Magistrates. But after that Prince had taken Possession of the Kingdom he caused to be made a Collection (which is yet extant) of those Laws he thought fit to change; and left the rest, which he either thought inviolable or favourable to his Authority, in the same Condition he found them. This difference, in Time, caused a neglect of the unwritten Laws;
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for that the Magistrates no longer troubled themselves to retain them with the same exactness as before: And the Ecclesiasticks, whose Jurisdiction was bounded by them, gave way to the Trespas which had been made upon them.

§. 6. THOSE Laws, with respect to the King, declared it belong'd to him to decide Controversies concerning the Presentation to Benefices: That the Clergy, in what manner soever cited before the King's Tribunal, ought to appear at least once, that it might in their Presence be determined, whether the Affair should be detain'd there still, or refer'd to the Official, who was an Officer of the King's, appointed to assist in Ecclesiastical Causes, and to see Justice impartially administer'd. That the Clergy, who held large Preferments, should not depart out of the Realm without the King's Leave. That Persons Excommunicate might be absolv'd without any other Warrant than that of Submission to the Sentence of the Church; and that all Clerks ought to be deliver'd over to the secular Arm for what Crimes soever they should commit. That no Feudatary of the King should be excommunicated without the King's being advertised of it, and entreated to employ his Authority towards the Amendment of the Offence; and that he had Right to oblige the Arch-Bishops to give a final Judgment in Causes brought before them, though the Parties concern'd had made an Appeal to the Court of *Rome*. That the King's Judges ought to take Cognizance of such Tenures as 'twas doubted of, whether they belong'd to Clergymen or Laymen. That the Right of the Regale over Bishopricks and Abbeyes took Place from the Day of their Vacancy,
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until the Time that a Successor had been elected in the King's Chappel, and with the Council of his Ministers, and that he had paid the usual Homage of Liege-Men, but this without Prejudice to his Character. That Clerks were no competent Judges in Cases of Debt ; and that they could not alienate, without his Permission, any Part of the Revenues which they held of his Liberality, or that of his Predecessors. That the Evidence of secular Witnesses should be receiv'd by the Arch-Deacons, provided that no Exceptions could be made against them. That the Clergy, who were possess'd of the larger Feuds, should not be exempt from assisting in Criminal Causes, until the Sentence of Death should be pronounc'd : That in case they were oppress'd by the Peers of the Realm, they had a Way open for Justice, by Addressing themselves to the King ; that his Majesty might seize upon, in Churches and Church-Yards, over and above what belonged unto him. That Vassals should not be admitted into Holy Orders without the Consent of their Lords, to whom they were mortgagable.

If these Laws, which I have here abridg'd, had been religiously observ'd, *England* had been ever treated as a Captive Country, *i. e.* the Kings would ever have preserv'd an absolute Authority over their Subjects, which the Right of Arms had given them. For on the one side the *Englishmen* had lost their Liberty, and the immense Possessions, which the Church held in the Kingdom, serv'd only to maintain the Ministers of it in their Dependance upon the King, instead of inspiring them with the Resolution of exempting themselves therefrom ; since that they could neither possess nor exercise throughout their Dioceses

ceses that Jurisdiction, which appertained to them, without the King's Consent. But the Differences which happen'd among the Descendants of *William* the Conqueror, oblig'd them to decline the invidious Pretensions of Right by Conquest: First, in favour of the Clergy and Nobility, and then out of regard to the People, that by that Usage they might draw over the three Estates of the Realm to their Interests. The two *Estiennnes* of the House of *Blois*, who succeeded them, took no care that the unwritten Laws should be observ'd, either because they perceiv'd themselves not to be so well establish'd in the Throne, as to enter upon so nice an Affair; or that the Number of those who had transgress'd them, was too great to be enquir'd after, without involving the Nation in a Civil War. In fine, the Necessity which the *Plantagenets* of *Anjou* (the eldest Son of which Family had married the Pope's Heiress) lay under of imploring the Aid of the Holy See, towards putting them into Possession of the Kingdom of *England*; and the Sollicitations they made for the sending over a Legate *à Latere* to reside at *London*, put an End to the Use of those Laws; for that the Legates had appropriated to themselves one Part of the Ecclesiastical Matters; the Cognizance of which had aforetime been reserv'd to the King's Judges, and had referr'd the other to the Bishops, to engage them the more readily in the Maintenance of that Revolution they had wrought in *England*.

From hence sprung the Difference which afterward pass'd betwixt *Henry* the II^d. and *St. Thomas a Becket* of *Canterbury*; the Cause of which has not perhaps as yet been sufficiently discover'd. The Nobility, however, as well as the Clergy, have brought their Kings under Subjection, in obliging them

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them to communicate to them those Designs, which without them they could not execute: And the People too have prevail'd over them, in refusing to open their Purses towards the defraying the Charges of the War, unless they were call'd into those Councils, which were assembled to declare it.

§. 7. THUS was the Parliament of *England* form'd, which in a little time, by omitting no Opportunity of aggrandizing it self, render'd the Monarchy more enfeebled than it was before the Conquest of the Duke of *Normandy*, and left little more to their Kings than the Regal Title. *Henry* the II^d. was the first who attempted to shake off the Yoke, or recover those unalienable Privileges of Sovereignty, which his Predecessors had lost. As the Clergy were at that time in the Possession of the most essential Parts thereof; he first began to deprive them of their Power; and the faint Opposition he met with from Pope *Alexander* the Third, gave grounds to believe, that he would have infallibly succeeded in his bold Undertaking, if two Obstructions equally unavoidable and unforeseen had not cross'd his Designs. The one was occasion'd by certain indiscreet Soldiers, who too rigorously interpreting a few Words, which fell from that Prince against the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, (who alone defended the Cause of the Clergy) slew him at the Altar, and gave the Pope a plausible Motive to excommunicate *Henry*; who in fine, being abandon'd by the *English* Men, was constrain'd to buy his Reconciliation with the Church, upon what Conditions soever the Pope should think fit to impose. The other Obstruction was, That his own Sons had rebell'd against him, and had

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drawn from *Guienne*, which belonged to them in Right of their Mother, so considerable an Army, that they prescribed Conditions to their Father ; which, as Sons, they ought to have received from him, and compell'd him to make an absolute Renunciation of his Project, to re-establish the Crown of *England* in its ancient Power. His Son *John* was yet more unhappy, both with respect to himself, and the *English* Monarchy. For when the barbarous Assassination of his eldest Brother's Son, who was a Bar to him in his Succession to the Throne, had obliged his Subjects to fall off from him, he found no better Expedient to remove from himself the Censures of the Church, than by making his Kingdom Tributary to the Holy See.

As *Henry* the III^d, his Son, thought it the most proper Means of obliging the *Englishmen* to acknowledge his Right, to confirm to them the Privileges of Parliament, or rather to establish the Three Estates of the Realm in their Usurpation upon the Royal Authority ; so he thereby took away from the succeeding Kings all proper Occasions of regaining it. And even *Edward* himself, who had so often triumph'd over every thing which had oppos'd his Grandeur in *Europe*, was afraid of venturing himself with his Subjects, lest some unlucky Accident should bring about a Civil War, and destroy the Fruits of his Victories. He therefore waited 'till the *Englishmen* themselves should furnish him with an Opportunity of again subjecting them to him ; and this he imagin'd he had found, in giving *Wickliffe* leave to vent his new Opinions. For if that Heresiarch could arrive at the End he propos'd, the Degradation of the Clergy, all the Authority of that Body would be re-united in the King, and

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render him not incapable one Day or other of suppressing the two Houses ; the one of which, called the Upper-House, was made up of the Nobility, the other the Lower-House, was wholly composed of Persons elected out of the People. But nothing was held more expedient by *Edward*, than to avoid the Rocks of Ecclesiastical Censures, upon which the Wisdom of his Predecessors had so often been wreck'd, *i. e.* neither directly, nor indirectly to incur them by irritating the Pope, that so his Holiness, not having any Pretext to lay *England* under an Interdict, the Malady might be effectually heal'd ; and that might be preserv'd to the Authority Royal, which of all other things gains it the most respect ; to wit, the Obligation the Popes must lie under to have recourse to it, and to desire its forcible Interposition ; which thing they would readily do, when they perceiv'd that the Thunder of their Excommunications was little regarded by the meaner sort of People. Thus *Wickliffe*, assured that he might declaim against the Clergy in general, under pretence of laying open the Abuses of the Clergy of *England*, both in the Chair and Pulpit preach'd and taught, that the *English* Lords might conscientiously take back the Lands, which their Predecessors had given to the Church ; that neither the Pope, nor the Bishops, had Authority to Excommunicate or Interdict ; and that the Sacraments administred by Priests of ill Lives, were, to all spiritual Purposes, invalid.

§. 8. Pope *Gregory* the XIIth, inform'd of this new Doctrine, writes to the Bishop of *London*, and Archbishop of *Canterbury*, by all means to stifle it, even though it should require the most violent Remedies. The Bishop and Archbishop

write back in such Terms as supposed, that nothing should prevail with them from treating *Wickliffe* with all the Severity the Holy Canons prescrib'd. But as the Resolution of those two Prelates was chiefly founded upon the false Opinion that the Court would second their Zeal; as soon as they perceiv'd the King to be unmov'd therewith, and that the Courtiers flock'd to hear the Sermons of *Wickliffe* without fear of Disgrace, than they behav'd themselves so as that their easy Conduct might satisfy the Holy See, and not expose themselves to the Displeasure of the Court. They cited *Wickliffe*, according to Form, to appear before them, and give an Account of his Doctrine, and prepared themselves for his Examination with so much the more Fierceness, as they were perswaded, that that Heresiarch would not dare to appear: But they were mistaken, for he did appear. 'Tis true, it was in the posture of a Man who rather expected a Reward, than deserv'd Chastisement. He was attended with the Duke of Lancaster's Friends, and the Followers of the King's Mistress, who in a publick Manner solicited for his Acquittment: And those Prelates were so astonish'd at the Number and Quality of his Intercessors, that they suffered themselves to be perswaded by the Discourse *Wickliffe* had prepared: Which was, That he never had so much as a Thought to alter any of the Truths of Christianity; that if any Proposition, contrary to his Intention, had fallen from him, he was ready sincerely to revoke it, and ask Pardon for it; that he would endeavour eternally to suppress it, and submit himself to publick Penance and Discipline. Then they put into his Hand a Scroll of the three Errors he had advanced; the first of which he explain'd in this manner: That
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the Lords of *England* might regain the Lands, which the Church held of the Liberality of their Ancestors, for that the same Church had allowed to them the Enjoyment thereof for a certain Space of Time, on account of the great Services they had already done, or 'twas hop'd would do. He interpreted the second, as if he had only said, that the Power of Excommunication did not appertain to the Pope. and Bishops precisely, as Ministers of the Church, but as Depositories and Dispensators of the Authority of Jesus Christ; and which the Church, assembled in Council, might take away from them without prejudice to their Character. By the third (he said) he meant no more, than that the Sacraments, administred by Priests of ill Lives, were invalid with respect to those, who administred them, not those who in *bonâ fide* receiv'd them.

Upon this the two Prelates dismiss'd *Wickliffe* with a plenary Absolution, after he had given his Word, that he would no more preach up any ambiguous Doctrine. But that vain Man, encourag'd by his Success, abus'd the Mildness of his Judges, and taught, that the Body of Jesus Christ, did not remain under the Species of the Bread after Consecration: That the Church of *Rome* was in no respect superiour to that of other Churches; and that the Power she had over them was all Usurpation: That the Temporal Lords would be infallibly damn'd, unless they depriv'd the Clergy of those Possessions which they so much abus'd: And that Bishops ought not to have Authority to imprison.

The Pope, inform'd of this Relapse, blames the Indulgence of the *English* Prelates, and to shew what they ought to have done, he condemns the Propositions of *Wickliffe*. The Prelates, asham'd
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to have been so prevented, assemble themselves in Council at *Canterbury*, and there, by the Mouth of *Thomas*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, their Primate, they Anathematize *Wickliffe* and his Doctrine. But the Number of those who had flock'd to him was so great, that it was impossible for them to seize upon his Person.

§. 9. THE King did not live a Year before he was punish'd for the Favour, which he had shewn to *Wickliffe*, in a manner which cannot be express'd without Horror. He was seiz'd with a languishing Fever in his House at *Shene*, where he went to take the Diversions of Hunting : And though his Physicians did immediately judge that his Distemper would be of long continuance, yet did they not apprehend it to be mortal ; for that he did not appear to have lost much of his Strength thereby : And besides they were afraid of displeasing the King's Mistress, who never went out of his sight, and would not permit them to make a doubtful Judgment. That Courtesan, who could easily imagine that things were as she desir'd, did not content herself with believing, as true, the fine Words the Physicians gave her, That the King would do well, but had so fully perswaded herself of his Recovery, that when they convinc'd, by a Multitude of Symptoms, that his Death was at hand, had chang'd their Opinions, and forewarn'd her of the Approach of her Lover's last Hour, she would give no credit to them : In the mean time, his Sight and Speech began to fail him ; and that fatal Prefage, join'd to the Decrease of natural Heat, in the extream Parts of his Body, gave Madam notice, that 'twas time for her to think of a Retreat. She takes the Rings from off the
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King's Fingers, and goes out of the Chamber : The rest of the Domesticks follow her Example, in furnishing themselves with what they could best, except the Chaplain, who either being less covetous, or less audacious than the others, stirs not from his Master, but presents before him a Crucifix. It is difficult to determine, whether that deplorable Prince was at that time influenc'd by the extraordinary Grace of God ; or whether it was the Indignation to see himself so unworthily treated and abandon'd, in his last Moments, by a Woman, whom he had lov'd dearer than himself, that made him have recourse to Heaven. But 'tis certain, that he took the Crucifix, and having kiss'd a thousand times the Feet thereof, he bath'd it in his Tears, and to his last Breath he gave all the Marks of Penitence, that the Priests could require in such Cases, to supply the outward Act of Confession. He had taken more Care of the Affairs of his Crown, than of his Health : For although he tenderly lov'd the Duke of *Lancaster*, and had given him clear Proofs of his Design to leave him his Crown, yet there was nevertheless found a Will wrote and sign'd by his own Hand, which render'd Justice to the deceas'd Prince of *Wales* in the Person of his Son *Richard*, who was then only eleven Years old ; and which declared him his Successor, to the Exclusion of the Duke of *Lancaster*, and his Brothers the Dukes of *Glocester* and *Cambridge*. The Parliament approv'd the Will ; and the Duke of *Lancaster*, finding himself unable to defend his Pretensions by Force of Arms, was one of the first who submitted themselves to the Authority of his Nephew.

§. 10. THE wretched *Alice Pierce* escap'd the Punishment which had been prepared for her, in embarking, in a good Hour, with all that she held dear, in a *Dutch Vessel*, which landed her upon the Coasts of *Gallicia*: And the Guardians of the young King made no Search after her, for that they judg'd her unworthy of their Anger; or that they were perswaded that the King of *Castile* would abandon her to their Discretion, by reason of the Pretensions which the Duke of *Lancaster* made to that Crown.

§. 11. BUT as there is no Season more proper for the Increase of Heresie, than that of the Minority of Kings, as being less capable of violent Remedies, which might put a Stop to the Malady, by hindring of its Progress; so the Necessity of using indulgent Measures, and of keeping fair with the Duke of *Lancaster*, to the end that he might, with the less Disgust, swallow down the Bitterness of his Disappointment, and not thro' Despair involve the Nation in a Civil War, did at this time augment the Followers of *Wickliffe*, to the number of more than one hundred thousand: And their Chief having nothing now to be afraid of, went on to publish the rest of his Heresie, and to attack the Jurisdiction of the State, as well as of the Church.

§. 12. HE maintain'd, that a mortal Sin did no less deprive Men of their temporal Goods, than of the Benefits of Grace, and concluded, from that Principle, that if any Lord had fallen into any deadly Sin, he had no longer a right to exact any Service from his Tenants. He made the same Persons Judges of the Conscience of their Lords,

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Lords, and taught, that it was sufficient to hear them swear, or be guilty of any other Offence, remarkably bad, to be from thenceforth free of their Obligation to do them Homage. Nor was that seditious Tenent limited by him to Crown'd Heads, but he extended it also to Priests, Bishops, and the Pope : He degraded them for the least Fault. Nay, to such an height of Impudence had he arriv'd, as to teach, that worldly Goods ought to be equally distributed amongst Men, and held in common by them ; and that no Man could properly possess any thing of his own without Sin. These last Opinions brought over to his Party one of the most turbulent and seditious Spirits throughout all *England*. He was a Priest, named *John Ball*, who had escap'd out of Prison, where he had been thrown by his Bishop : He was under some Apprehensions of being retaken ; and as he had not a Capacity able to provide for himself a Subsistence in any other Country, except *England*, so neither could he continue there without embroiling the Nation in War. To one of those Circumstances was he reduc'd, when he went to seek out *Wickliffe*, who receiv'd him with open Arms ; and after two or three Conferences gave him leave to preach his Doctrine. The Disciple rose in a short time above his Master, and made himself the more considerable, by adding to his Impudence, an open Rebellion. He explain'd that Text in the Gospel of Rooting out the Tares, lest they should choak the Wheat, by applying it to the *English* Nobles and Magistrates, without any respect had to their Birth and Quality. He taught, that it was absolutely necessary to begin with exterminating the Principal of those two Bodies ; for that it would then be much more easy to oppress the rest, and to re-establish

the People in that Happiness, which formerly they had enjoy'd, before those Extortioners had fatten'd themselves upon the purest of their Substance. Posterity will scarce believe, that of two hundred thousand Persons, who followed the new Prophet, there was not one who suspected him of Fraud; though 'twas evident that his Aim was Tyranny, under the false Pretext of establishing an imaginary Equality amongst Men. On the contrary, the Audaciousness of his Disciples increasing in like proportion with their Numbers, they had judg'd him worthy of the two first Dignities of *England* both in Church and State, and had resolv'd to place him in the Stead of *Sudbury* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Chancellor of *England*. That Prelate had possess'd all the Qualifications of a compleat Clergyman, before he had engag'd himself in the Bustle of a Court: And although, by breathing that infectious Air, he had remarkably departed from his first Innocence, yet was he not totally corrupted. Indeed, he but faintly oppos'd the Beginnings of *Wickliffe's* Heresie; because that on the one side he was afraid to fall under the Hatred of two the most mighty Persons about the Court, who had declared themselves in his Favour; and on the other he imagin'd that the Party of that Innovator would destroy it self; or that it might easily be crush'd in a favourable Conjunction: And when the Duke of *Lancaster*, and the Mistress of the King, were grown weary of protesting it. But when he saw, that they were about to deprive him of his two Places of Preferment, and that the Successor, whom they design'd to appoint, was not of a Disposition to let him live long after his Degradation; then his own particular Interests oblig'd the Archbishop

to take such Measures as were conformable to his Conscience and Duty. He dissuaded the King from giving Audience to the Followers of *Wickliffe*, who instantly demanded it; and it since appear'd, that that Advice was the Safety of the State. For those who appear'd the most violent in their Complaints for not being permitted to see their Prince, being taken up upon some light Pretence, confess'd, that the Design of the *Wicklittines* was, if they had been allow'd a Sight of the King, to have seiz'd upon his sacred Person, and to have made away with him, after they had forc'd him to give up to their Rage the principal Heads of the State; to have extirpated all Officers and Magistrates throughout the Kingdom; and to have reserv'd, as the last Victims to their Cruelty, the Parochial Clergy, Canons and Bishops. The Punishment of these Parricides augmented the Number of their Accomplices, and caus'd them to enter into a Plot against the Life of him, who had discover'd the Conspiracy. They went in so great a Body to the Palace of the Archbishop, that it was impossible to deny them Entrance; they found him upon his Knees, and bad him prepare for Death.

§. 13. THE pathetick Discourse he made to them, drew from them no Compassion, though he was the most eloquent Man in all *England*; and he who was to be his Executioner, being weary of hearing him, interrupted him, by demanding of him Pardon for the Death he was about to give him. A Complement so extravagant, which one might have thought would have intimidated the Archbishop, remov'd his Fears; he embrac'd the barbarous Man; he implor'd Forgiveness for him from Heaven; he gave him

his Ring, which was of great Price, and stretch'd out his Neck to receive the Blow. The first Stroak of the Ax did not separate his Head from his Shoulders; whether it was that Force enough was not us'd, or that the Executioner was unskill'd in his Office, it enter'd not very deep; and the Archbishop, by a natural Motion, laying his Hand upon the Wound, the second Blow cut off his Fingers; the third, fourth, sixth, and seventh fell upon his Head, which by the eighth was parted from his Body. Providence, which impos'd upon him those Sufferings for the Reparation of his Crime, inspir'd him with Constancy to bear them without any Emotion; and also to confess at his last Moments, that he had well deserv'd them. His Corps remain'd two Days in the Hands of the Murderers, who would not permit it to be taken away from them, until the Parricide, who slew him, had been struck with Blindness and Frenzy.

The Consternation which hereupon possess'd the Minds of the *Wicklevites*; animated those Persons of Condition, who remain'd to defend the State. They immediately fly to Arms, and the King himself heading the Army, dissipated the Sedition with so much the more Ease; as the Rebels were only a Multitude of Peasants, who had left their Plow, in hopes to free themselves from the Rents they ow'd to the Clergy; herein imitating the Example of the Tenants of the Abbey of *St. Alban*, the best endow'd Benefice in *England*, who with one accord had compel'd the Abbot to grant them a general Discharge of all their Debts.

As *Wickliffe* had at no time frequented the Assemblies of the Seditious, nor was present at the Assassination of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; whether

whether it was that he was not desirous to succeed him, or that he had voluntarily surrender'd his Place to the Advancement of *Ball*, or that his natural Timidity being more strong than his Ambition, he had left it to others to run the Danger of the Enterprize, whilst he securely waited for the Success of it: So he escap'd the Punishment of that horrible Treason, for which the Principal of his Disciples were condemn'd. *Ball*, *Stile* and *Strover* were quarter'd; and the last declar'd, that the Design of his Conspiracy was to extirpate all publick Persons, and to shew Favour only to poor Priests.

That bloody Execution gave Peace to *England* for one Year: But in the Year 1382, these Troubles there were renew'd, upon Account of the Schism betwixt *Urban* the VIth, and *Clement* the VIIth, for the Popedom. The Parliament being assembled at *London* to resolve which of the two they should acknowledge as Sovereign Pontif, *Wickliffe* imagin'd, that by disguising a little his real Sentiments, he might draw over to his Party the whole Nation of *England*. Accordingly he lays before them certain Propositions, under the Pretext of healing the Schism. The first was, that the King and Kingdom were not oblig'd to obey the Holy See in any other things than what the Scriptures oblig'd them to: That the same Holy See had no Right to exact of the *English* either First Fruits or Contributions, unless it could be prov'd from Scripture that they were due to it; that Bishops and Priests, in case of Oppression, might bring an Action against the Pope before the Parliament; and that the Parliament was in such Cases indispensably bound to protect them against the Encroachments of the Court of *Rome*: That the Clergy of *England*,
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who were in Possession of two Thirds of the Kingdom, ought to bear two Thirds of the Charges of State: That the Temporalities of Livings ought to be confiscated, in case the Incumbents were found to lead scandalous Lives: That the King could not in Conscience retain at his Court Bishops and Priests under the Pretext of the Places in which they were employ'd, or the Functions they discharg'd, to the Hindrance of their Residence: And that no Person ought to be imprison'd out of the sole Consideration of Ecclesiastical Censures.

These Propositions of *Wickliffe* were examin'd in the Parliament of *England* with more Attention than they deserv'd; and the two Houses drew all the Advantage they cou'd from the Schism, in obliging him, whom they acknowledg'd to be Pope, to release somewhat of his Authority, the better to preserve the rest: But an Aversion preposterously push'd on was the sole Cause, which then kept *England* in an entire Dependance upon the Holy See, which afterward they cast off. When that Aversion had ceas'd, *France*, for Reasons which in no wise respect the Course of this History, thought it self oblig'd to defend the Party of *Clement* the VIIth, who had plac'd himself at *Avignon*; and the Declaration of that Crown was sufficient to engage that of *England* on the Side of *Urban* the VIth, who resided at *Rome*, where the greatest Part of *Italy* had recogniz'd him as the true Head of the Church. As *France* had excited nothing from *Clement* in declaring themselves in his Favour, but on the contrary had given him leave to augment the Sums which were collected out of the Provinces for the Collation of Benefices, and other Favours, to the End that he might appear with the
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more Grandeur : So the Parliament of *England* stood upon it as a Point of Honour, to pay to *Urban* an Obedience wholly dis-interested ; and accordingly they treated with Contempt all those who presented before them the Memory of *Wickliffe*, who thereupon was reduc'd to the Necessity of no longer appearing in publick. He retir'd into the Principality of *Wales*, which had been lately brought into Subjection to the *English*, where he crept into the good Graces of the People, by fawning upon their two reigning Passions ; the one an irreconcilable Hatred to the *Benedictine* Order, upon account of vast Riches they possess'd ; the other an extraordinary Contempt of the Clergy, who concern'd not themselves in concealing their impure Manner of Life. The *Benedictines* were attack'd by a Libel, which attempted to prove, that if those Religious lived by any other Means than the Labours of their own Hands, they would contract a manifest Apostacy ; not only from the Rules of their Patriarch, but also from the Gospel. And the fornicating Priests did, by their Retreat, escape the Menaces which were issu'd forth against them, and avoid the Effects of a Sedition, to which they would otherwise have been Victims. However the Clergy, whose exemplary Lives were above the Reach of Censure, did not meet with more favourable Treatment from him than the others ; for being willing to have no one there, but those who were in his own Sentiments, he bethought himself of teaching, that no Sacraments were valid, which were administer'd by a Priest that had fallen into any deadly Sin ; and into that Abyss he plung'd even the most Holy of the Churchmen, because they were possess'd of more temporal Goods than were necessary

necessary for them to imitate the poor Estate of Jesus Christ, and the first Christians. Having thus made himself Master of the Pulpits and Churches of that Province, he divided the rest in the Kingdom amongst his Disciples. And an Hermit, who had forsook his Order, named *William*, (one of the most violent amongst them) without any other Mission, intruded himself into the Church of *Lancaster*: He was more impudent than his Master, in that he went into a Convent of Nuns in Habit of the Fryar, and infus'd so strong a Belief in them, that they should be damn'd infallibly, if they tarry'd any longer in their Cloyster; that they all departed thence, and return'd Home to their own Parents. The Disorders which that Desertion caus'd in Families, and the Consequences which might reasonably be expected from so dangerous an Enterprize, fill'd with a very great Astonishment *William de Courtenay*, who had succeeded the unfortunate *Simon of Sudbury* in the Arch-bishoprick of *Canterbury*.

That Primate, being oblig'd to prevent a like Accident with that which had advanc'd him to the See, assembl'd a Council at *London*, immediately after *Easter*, in the Year 1382, where were condemn'd certain Propositions extracted out of the Writings of *Wickliffe*, and chiefly out of a Book, call'd the *Triologue*: That the Substance of the Bread and Wine remain'd after the Consecration of the Eucharist; that Jesus Christ was not corporally present there; that Priests and Bishops, who had fallen into any deadly Sin, were incapable validly to administer any Sacrament; that Confession was of no Advantage to a contrite Man; that the Mass was not of Divine Institution; that God was sometimes oblig'd

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oblig'd to obey the Devil; that a wicked Pope had no other Authority over Christians, than what had been given to his Predecessor *Sylvester* by the Emperor *Constantine*; that after the Death of *Urban VI.* the *English* ought to live as the *Greeks* do, and no more recognize the Sovereign Pontiff; that the holy Scriptures forbade the Possession of Temporal Goods; that the Bishops ought to Excommunicate those alone whom they knew God had Excommunicated; and that after Excommunication they ought not over and above to pronounce them Hereticks; that Bishops would be guilty of Treason both against God and the King, if they should presume to Excommunicate a Priest, who had appeal'd from the Tribunal to the King; that no Censures could prohibit any Man from hearing or preaching the Word of God: That it was not necessary for Priests or Deacons to receive any Commission to preach from the Pope, or their Bishop; that Ecclesiastical Tenures might revert to their Lords by Forfeiture as well as Secular; that the People had a right to reclaim Persons of Quality, who led scandalous Lives; that Tythes were only Alms, which the Parishioners might deprive their vicious Pastors of, and bestow them upon other poor People; that the Prayers of the Clergy for particular Persons were not more profitable than general Prayers; that whoever entred into a Religious House became thereby less capable of observing the Commands of God, than before, and that the Founders of all the Religions Orders, and especially the Order of Mendicants, had offended God in their Institutions; that the Life they led, was contrary to the Gospel, and that no one of them could be saved, who did not live upon the Works of his own Hands.

After that the Doctrine of *Wickliffe* had been condemn'd, he himself was cited in the usual Forms; and the Procedure against him happen'd at a time so little favourable to that Heresiarch, that he could not but submit to it. The Duke of *Lancaster* had abandon'd him, out of regard to his own urgent Interests, or rather he left him to provide for himself, after having found by a sad Experience, that he could be of no Service to him in gaining the Crown. The Friends of that Prince, in order to make up his Loss, had stirr'd up in him an ambitious Desire to mount the Throne of *Castile*, which, they said, King *John* had forfeited, by espousing the Cause of the Pope of *Avignon*; (for so the Romans nam'd *Clement VII.*) Pope *Urban VI.* being resolv'd, if possible, to keep *England* attach'd to his Party, satisfied not himself with encouraging in the Duke the Hopes his Friends had given him, but over and above he declared him General of the Holy See, and sent him a Consecrated Banner, with full Power to hold *Castile* by a just Title, when he had got Possession of it by Conquest. These Proceedings of the Court of *Rome* in favour of the Duke, had been repay'd with too black Ingratitude, if he had continued to countenance *Wickliffe* in opposition to them, especially seeing that they appear'd to have been sincere in what they had done; for the Nobles of *Spain* were divided, and the *English*, to free themselves from the fear of a Civil War, had offer'd to the Duke Money and Troops necessary to carry on his Design of invading *Spain*: And thus the Ministers of *Urban*, having gain'd the Ascendant over him, oblig'd him to command *Wickliffe* to appear before the Council. That Heresiarch obey'd, and tho' he had protested to his

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his Disciples a thousand and a thousand Times; that no Torments should ever draw from him the least Retraction; yet was he no sooner brought before his proper Judges, than he abjur'd all he had taught contrary to their Sentiments without Exception. This Recantation however, tho' clear and full, did not suffice with the Fathers of the Council (whether it was, that the frequent Relapse of *Wickliffe* had increas'd their distrust, or that his Fault was too great to be repair'd by a bare Disavowal) they moreover compell'd him to put it in Writing, and a second time to recite it in Publick; and that Piece had yet been to be found in its Place among the Acts of the Council, if the *English* Compiler, too Passionate for the Glory of his Nation, or unwilling to provide Arms for the Catholics, wherewith to encounter the Heresie of *Calvin*, which he made Profession of, had not undertaken to suppress that Retraction, and to place in its stead a Confession of Faith, which, properly speaking, is nothing more than a pure cunning Discourse, smoothing over the Errors of *Wickliffe*.

§. 13. As it was the principal Cause of these Confusions, that the *Wicklervites*, following the natural Inclination of the *English* to speak in Publick, had taken upon themselves to preach without Mission; the Council prohibited any Man, under pain of Excommunication, from entring into the Pulpit without the Bishops Leave. The last Article was an Ecclesiastical Process against three of the fam'd Disciples of *Wickliffe*, *Philip Ripendon*, *Nicholas Herfore*, and *John Aston*. *Aston* instead of following the Example of his Chief, and making a Surrendry of himself, added to his Pride, Insolence; and not being content with avowing,

that, he held all the wild Notions of *Wickliffe* as so many Articles of Faith; he employ'd all his Eloquence, and an agreeable Tone of Voice, which he was naturally Master of, in speaking a Satire against the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with Design to stir up to Sedition a multitude of mean People that stood round him. He was in part successful in that wicked Attempt, for the People rose and forcibly took him out of the Hands of his Judges. But the Archbishop had recourse to the Kings Authority, who caused *Aston* to be given up. It was expected that he would have deliver'd him over to the Secular Arm, and perhaps that might have been done by him, if he had not apprehended, that others would have imputed it to a Thirst after Revenge, what he could not have done, but upon Motives of Justice: He chose rather to use Indulgence, than in so nice a Conjunction to pass for a Man too jealous of his Reputation; and he caused the Criminal to be inform'd, that he was ready to acquit him, provided that he would in the least contribute to his own Safety. *Aston* hereupon, not being in Expectation of any more Aid, fearing to dye, suppress'd for a time his real Sentiments, and read and sign'd the Profession of Faith they had drawn up for him: His Gratitude to his Benefactor prevail'd with him to teach nothing that he had abjur'd, during the Life of *William de Courtenay*: But immediately upon his Death, in the Year 1385, *Aston* again became a *Wicklevite*, and persisted in his former Errors, either that he thought himself free from his Promise, or that he did not esteem *Tho. Arundel*, who succeeded *Courtenay*, a Person considerable enough, as out of regard to him to lay a constraint upon himself.

§. 14. *Herfore* saved himself in that space of Time that was given him to prepare for Death, and ended his Days in the Mountains where he perverted only Savages.

§. 15. *Ripendon* only sincerely entred into the Communion of the Church of *England*, and he indeed pass'd to the other Extreme, and became an obstinate Persecutor of the *Wickliffites*; the Opposition he made to them procur'd him the Bishoprick of *Lincoln*; where he labour'd with good Success in giving a check to the Errors, which *William* of *Windarby* had sowed there.

§. 16. The Decisions of the Council of *London* were repeated in a Decree of the University of *Oxford*, which was too much approv'd by *Wickliffe*; and yet this hath *Spelman* suppress'd, to put into its stead a Piece, which may manifestly be convicted of Forgery, from *Wingeon*, an Author who liv'd at that Time, and who is above all Exceptions in this Matter, for that he set down in his Journal whatever happen'd in *England*, as it came to his Knowledge.

§. 17. *Wickliffe* being now equally abandon'd by the Court and his best Friends, dar'd not any more to preach up those Doctrines which the University and the Councils had condemned; but he took into his Examination other Matters no less curious, nor less dangerous. He maintain'd that Philosophy was necessary to clear up the obscure Passages of the Old and New Testament; and that those Truths, which were not in express Terms contain'd either in one or the other, ought not to be imposed as Articles of Faith.

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He supplied that Tradition, which he rejected, with certain particular Inspirations he boasted of; and he pretended, that Baptism was a sufficient Call to the Priesthood. He accused St. *Sylvester* of having first introduced into the Church the Possession of Lordships, and blamed St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury* for having spilt his Blood in so unjust a Quarrel. He had prepared upon that Subject two Sermons, or rather two Satires, which he ought to have preach'd upon the 29th and 30th of *December*, the Feasts of those two Saints, in the Year 1384. Upon the Morning of the 29th Day, he was seiz'd with a Palsie all over him, which disfigur'd his Countenance, took away his Speech, and threw him into horrible Convulsions, insomuch that he was unable to make any other Signs, than what are usually made by People in Despair. He died upon the 30th Day in the Morning, without returning to himself, or receiving the Sacraments. His Followers ceased not to Recognize him as a Saint, until the Year 1386, at which time *Tho. Arundel*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, being press'd by the Court of *Rome* to extirpate what remain'd of the *Wicklervites* Heresie in *England*, and assisted by the Secular Arm, assembled another Council at *London*, who satisfied not themselves, as before, in condemning the Tenets of *Wickliffe*, but caused also his Books to be Burned by the hands of the Common Hangman, and gave it moreover in Charge to *Winchfort*, an Observantin Monk to answer them; which he accordingly did after the manner of his Age, *i. e.* in a barbarous Style, and with unexact Quotations of Passages from the Fathers. The first of these two Remedies met but with partial Success, for *Wickliffe* having been dead a long time, there had been given Opportunities

tunities of Copying over his Books; and *Peter Payne*, one of his Disciples, who declared himself too openly in his Favour, to meet with no Disturbance, of his own accord deserted his Country, and fled over from *England* into *Bohemia*, where he soon found himself oppress'd with Poverty, having carried over nothing more valuable than the Writings of his Master. He understood, in seeking to relieve himself, that a certain Gentleman of *Bohemia*, descended from the illustrious House of *Poisson-pourry*, had brought over from *England*, where he finish'd his Studies, a Tract which *Wickliffe* had formerly wrote upon the Universal of *Porphiry*, and that he had communicated it to many Persons, who had taken Copies of it. No sort of Advice can come amiss to a Man, when the desire of Gain is joyn'd to the Necessity of Life; *Payne* thought with himself, that if one of the Books of *Wickliffe*, and that the least esteem'd, was so carefully sought after, the others, which treated of Matters far more important, would undoubtedly bring the more Advantage; and that he might not only reap much Profit from the Communication of them, but yet more from Transcribing them with his own Hand, under pretext of not daring to trust the Original with any Person; and in truth no sooner had he cry'd it abroad, that the whole Works of *Wickliffe* were in his Hands, than he was employ'd in Transcribing them; and so urgent were Men for them, that *Payne's* Hand was insufficient, and he was oblig'd to call in others to his Assistance, there being demanded of him to the number of 200 Copies. Those, who had read the first Sheets, could not forbear mentioning the many Novel Propositions they had found there, and their Indiscretion led them so far

far as to name the Author from whence they had them. This immediately gave the Alarm to the *German* Doctors, who filled the principal Chairs in the University of *Prague*: For besides, that these Gentlemen had been inform'd, that the Doctrine of *Wickliffe* had been condemn'd in *England*, they stood upon it as a Point of Honour to imitate the University of *Paris*, which had censur'd it; and they were also bound in Interest to keep their University at Peace, in which were at that time five and twenty or thirty Thousand Scholars. Therefore they assembled themselves together, and no Body daring to declare himself in Favour of such Sentiments, as he had not read all the Proofs of, whatever appear'd under the Name of *Wickliffe* was treated as Heretical, and it was made equally Criminal to Read as to Transcribe his Works. But that Decree was too feeble to suspend any long time the Curiosity of the Publick, and Ambition pleas'd it self on the Party of rendering it unprofitable. The Emperor *Charles* the IVth, had conceiv'd so great an Admiration for the University of *Paris*, in his Journey through *France*, that he had form'd a Design of Founding one in every respect like it in the City of *Prague*, the Capital of his Kingdom of *Bohemia*. So as that of *Paris* was composed of four Nations, which were equal Partakers of its Honours and Revenues; in like manner did the University of *Prague* impart to those of *Saxony*, *Bavaria* and *Poland* the same Dignities and Salaries as to the Original *Bohemians*. This Constitution was observ'd with sufficient exactness during the Life of *Charles* the IVth; for that Prince took all necessary care to animate the Doctors of *Bohemia*, to maintain by their Abilities the Reputation of their new University: But after his Decease, their

Industry

Industry insensibly abated; whether it was that they had no natural Inclination to Study, or that their Minds were too deeply involv'd in Matter to weary themselves upon the vain Subtilties of School-Divinity; or that they had then sum'd up all the Points of Religion. The Scholars of the same Nation imitated the Negligence of their Professors, and no Persons of that Nation were found Learned enough to fill the Places of the *Bohemian* Doctors, as they became vacant: So that they were under a constraint of supplying them with the Doctors of the other 3 Nations, and especially of *Saxony*, which bred up more learned Men, than all the three besides. This excess of Idleness became at length so great, that there was not one *Bohemian* Professor in the University of *Prague*: And in truth, the Censure of *Wickliffe* was pronounced and sign'd only by the *German* Doctors. For neither Batchelors nor Masters of Arts had any Suffrages in such sorts of Assemblies. And yet there were at that time *Bohemians* in the University, who well deserv'd the Degree of Doctor, if the Faction of the *Germans*, who admitted to that Degree only those of their own Nation, to the End that they might quietly possess the Chairs assign'd to the *Bohemian* Doctors, had not excluded them. The most considerable among them in every respect was *John Huss*, a Man of so base Extraction, that not knowing who was his Father, he was compell'd to take to himself the Sirname of the Town in which he was Born. He was a Man of no less Ambition, than of good Natural Parts; and if he had accommodated his Passion to his Fortune, it was but to have waited for a favourable Conjunction to have push'd it very far. He got his

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Learning

Learning by carrying the Books of a young Gentleman whom he serv'd; and who gave him as a Recompence wherewithal to take his Degree of Master of Arts. He for a long time taught Grammar in that Capacity with a Success that had acquir'd him the Name of Master *John*, by way of Eminence amongst an innumerable multitude of Auditors. When he had thus distinguished himself amongst his Collegues, and had collected together a Sum of ready Money, he openly aspir'd to the Doctors Cap; and had render'd himself so much the more capable of it, as finding that he had gain'd Reputation enough by Studying under others, he was thenceforth oblig'd by his own Studies to instruct himself, which had given him the opportunity at some times of reading very good Books. He had not however enough examin'd them to discover therein the Truths at that time unknown thro' the Barbarism of the Schools. But he had Remarked, that there were condemned many Abuses of his Time, which appear'd to have been authoriz'd by Custom, or at least by the connivance of the Clergy; and as he had found certain of those Abuses inveigh'd against with vehemence in the Books of *Wickliffe*, he immediately conceiv'd a very great Veneration for the Memory of that Heresiarch, from whence he was insensibly led into an Approbation of his Doctrine. This way was he inclin'd, when he was refused his Doctors Degree, and we have no reason to doubt but that he would have recover'd himself from that Blindness, either by his natural Inconstancy, or by an exact Reading of the Holy Fathers, if the desire of revenging himself had not laid before him the Doctrine of the *Wicklemites*, as an infallible Means of throwing the German Doctors out of the Chairs
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of *Bohemia*, in dividing the *University* of *Prague*. However, Shame prevailed with him for some time to forbear preaching up those Propositions, to the Censure of which he had subscrib'd in the quality of Bachelor. But he took new Courage from the thought of using the Injury, which (he would say) was offer'd him when a Candidate for a new Degree, as a Proof of the Tyranny of the *German* Doctors exercis'd over the Inferiour Members of the *University* of *Prague*. He began with a Quarrel in the *University*, as being the most plausible, in representing to the Masters of *Grammar* in that Nation, that it would be great remissness in them, if they suffer'd their Bread any longer to be taken away from them by Strangers, who were not endu'd with greater Capacities than they themselves; or if they did not take Possession of the Divinity Chairs, which the others had usurp'd. The Masters return'd Answer, That on their side there wanted neither good Will nor Courage, but that they had no Acquaintance at Court, where the *Germans* would make continual Addresses, as soon as they found themselves disturb'd in that Business. But *John Huss* immediately made all these Difficulties vanish, by shewing them the Measures he had taken with the Emperor *Wincelaus*, thro' the means of two young Gentlemen, his Scholars, who were become the Favourites of that Prince. He therefore sends them word how the Matter would be, and tells his Collegues, that he required nothing more of them, not only to re-establish themselves in their Rights, which they had lost, but moreover to make themselves absolute Masters of the *University* of *Prague*, than to sow Discord industriously amongst the Scholars of their own Nation, and

those of *Germany*, than which nothing was more easie to do, for those Young Gentlemen bore in their Hearts a secret Antipathy against each other, which was increas'd by the Heat of their Blood, and the Ambition wherewith they had been already mov'd. Thus did the Masters of their own accord, undertake to promote a Dissention betwixt the *Bohemians* and the *Germans*, and within a few Days to put their Designs in Execution. The Disturbance first took rise in the College of *Rosenoire*, where the Scholars were not long concern'd, before they engag'd the Masters in the Quarrel. The *Germans* made their Complaints to *Winceslaus*, Successor to the Emperor *Charles* the IVth, his Father, in the Empire of *Germany* and *Bohemia*; but instead of the Protection they expected, they met with a Repulse, and the Collegues of *John Huss* began to conceive high Opinions of his Merit, when they saw the Affair proceed in that Order he had foreseen. Indeed, *Winceslaus* was a Man by no means proper to calm a Sedition, much less to prevent one: For since the Reign of *Heliogabalus* there never was a Prince more unworthy of the Crown. Good Dispositions in Body, Mind and Manners, were equally wanting to him; and as he had somewhat in his Visage, which represented that Filthy Animal that delights in nothing so much as its own Ordure, so had he all the beastly Inclinations of that Creature. His whole Days were spent over his Table, and he would have spent his Nights there too, if his Servants had not taken care to remove him thence, and to lay him in his Bed. All sort of Business was alike troublesome to him; and he concern'd himself neither about the Time present, or to come. Like *Vitellius*, he might easily have forgot, that he was Emperor, if others had

not

not minded him thereof. No one could better please him than by inventing new Dishes for his Palate, nor sooner irritate his Choler than by offending in that point; witness the unhappy Cook, whom he caused to be Spitted, Roasted and Sing'd, as you would do a Hog, for not having found out a Breakfast that pleas'd his Fancy. He was far from giving to the *Germans* the Time and Attention which were necessary to know wherein consisted their Differences with the *Bohemian* Masters of Arts; nor would they have been more favourably receiv'd, even tho' *John Huss* had not obtain'd by the Intrigue of his two Friends, that the Cause should be remitted to the Magistrates of *Prague* , rather than be brought before the Archbishop of the same City, tho' that Prelate was the natural Preserver of the Privilege of the University. The Doctors of *Germany* refused to appear before a Tribunal which they said was Foreign to them. But *John Huss* well assur'd to make up his Account there, presented himself with a Petition in his Hand, not only desiring, that the Doctors of *Bohemia* might be re-instated in the Chairs and Revenues, which appertain'd to them, but also, that pursuant to the Intention of the Founder, which was, he said, that the University of *Prague* should be in every respect conformable to the University of *Paris* ; the Masters of Arts might have the same Prerogatives, as all the Doctors together of the three other Faculties, Divinity, Law and Physick. The Magistrate, who was not well aware of the grievous Consequences of what he was about to do, sign'd the Petition, and the Favourites of the Emperor caused to be added thereto the Consent of his Majesty, as King of *Bohemia* . This was no sooner signified in that Form to the Doctors of
 Germany,

Germany, than they were constrain'd the same day to depart out of the Houses which belong'd to their Chairs. The *Bohemian* Youth made so great Outrages, that the fear of being massacred, did at length drive them to hearken to the Proposals of the Marquis de *Misnie*, and the Landgrave of *Thuringe*, who had offer'd them an honourable Retreat into the two Capital Towns of their Estates; they brought along with them four thousand of the best of their Scholars; and the Universities of *Oxford* and *Leipsic* were Peopled with the Ruins of the University of *Prague*.

§. 18. *John Huss* being now fortunate beyond his Expectations; for that his Adversaries had quitted the place, thought of nothing more than dividing the Spoil with his Collegues; but for fear of losing the rest of his Auditors, made him seek out for some Means to retain them; and nothing appear'd more ready or more efficacious, than to teach them the Doctrines of *Wickliffe*, which by reason of their Novelty would keep their Minds in Suspence, until such time as some other Matter might be prepared to entertain them withal. The Expedient was approv'd by all the Professors, and *John Huss*, in the first Discourse he made in favour of *Wickliffe*, impudently said, that the Fire which had burnt the Books of that excellent Man had given Warmth to the reading of them. He translated into his own Language the most pernicious of his Works, which were the four Books of his *Trialogue*, and caused Copies of them to be distributed amongst all the Lords of *Bohemia*. His Collegues ravish'd with the progress of his Lectures, every one in their manner imitated him. *Jerom* of *Prague* contented himself with teaching the same Tenets, but *Jacobel* strain'd

the Matter higher, upon some new Hints, which he had afterwards receiv'd.

§. 19. *Peter Bresde*, Professor at *Leipso*, had lost his Professorship for a Suspicion, which appear'd to be but too well grounded. He imagin'd to himself, that the Church had fallen into an Error in having taken away from the Laity the Communion under two Kinds; and as he was Poor, and knew not where to retire, he went to *Prague*, as soon as he knew, that the Germans departed thence, and that he might meet with a Substante without being oblig'd to conceal his Opinions. By chance, he the first day after his Arrival became acquainted with *Jacobel*, and the Sympathy of their Inclinations, form'd betwixt them a very intimate Familiarity; upon which *Bresde* took the Liberty to tell *Jacobel*, that *Wickliffe* in laying open the Abuses, which had crept into the Church, had omitted the most considerable, and that the taking away from the Communion the Species of Wine was a trick invented by the Clergy to separate themselves from the Laity, and to hinder them from making any Pretensions to the Participation of the Sacrament. He added, that from the Humour the People of *Bohemia* were in, they would be more inclin'd to demand the Cup, which had been taken away from them, than to pursue the Reformation of other Errors in the Church, and he desir'd, that he would suffer him to inspire in *Jacobel* the desire of being respected as a Prophet.

Jacobel, resolv'd to joyn to the Reputation which he had acquired of being the most fam'd Preacher in *Bohemia*, that of having discover'd a Corruption in the Church, which had escap'd the Observation of the Celebrated *Wickliffe*, never came

came into the Pulpit, without making the Cūp the Subject of his Discourse. And so fully had he perswaded himself of the Truth of that, which he was about to infuse into the Minds of others, that he wrote a Book of Memoirs upon that Subject, giving an account of the Actions of his Followers, who had solely apply'd themselves to the Study of that Matter, for that they foresaw that within a little time the whole Dispute would turn upon the Discussion of that single Point; and indeed all *Bohemia* rang in a short time after, of nothing but the Robbery of the Clergy, whom they accus'd of having stoln away from the People one half of the Holy Sacrament. And what increas'd the Contagion of this Distemper, was, that certain Benefic'd Men, of an illustrious House, and of great Reputation in the Kingdom, but of licentious Lives, overcharg'd with Debts, and Subject to the Discipline of the Church, for certain Crimes, of which they had been convicted, declared themselves of the Party of *Jacobel*, and encourag'd him to make a Schism. *John Huss* consented thereto, and Clandestine Congregations were set up. *Hincon*, Archbishop of *Prague*, complains thereof to the Magistrate, who then being sensible of the Fault he had committed, endeavour'd to repair it by an Act of Severity. He order'd a Watch to be set upon the *Hussites* against their coming out of their secret Assemblies, and three of the most Seditious were arrested by his Order. Their Tryals went on without any Discountenance of the Process, and Sentence of Death was pronounced against them as Hereticks and Disturbers of the Publick Peace: Their Bodies were quarter'd, and the Quarters set up in the Market-place. But the *Hussites*, who either dar'd not or could not save them out of the Hands
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of Justice, gather'd themselves together in Troops upon the first noise of the Punishment of their Companions, took the divided parts of their Bodies from the place, where they were fix'd for a Spectacle, carried them as in triumph thro' the Streets, cry'd that they were so many Reliques of the Saints of our Lord, and of the Martyrs of Jesus Christ, and exposed them in that Quality in the Church of *Betbleem* at *Prague*, of which they had made themselves Masters, to the Veneration of the Multitude.

§. 20. *John Huss* had so great a Part in that Action, that it was impossible not to include him in the number of those that were necessary to that Crime: And the Warrant which was issu'd out against him, not permitting him to tarry at *Prague*, he retir'd into the Village, from whence he took his Name, after having perverted the Lord of it, who promised to receive him into his Castle, and to protect him against all Force that should be us'd towards him. It was in that House (which might pass for a Fortrefs) that the Party of the *Hussites* was compleatly form'd in the Year 1409. For there it was that *John Huss* spent his Time in translating certain Books of the Old and New Testament into the Vulgar Tongue, to which he added Commentaries, and gave thereby to Women and Tradesmen means of disputing with the Monks and Clergy: And then was it, that it was resolv'd, the People should be exhorted to pay to the Clergy only Alms, and to contribute nothing towards the *Crusaide*, which Pope *John XXII.* had published under pretence of putting a stop to the Progress of the Infidels, but in reality to take away from King *Ladislavus* the Kingdom of *Naples*.

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§. 21. THESE Measures had no sooner been agreed upon, than the Communion under two Kinds was re-establish'd in most part of the Churches throughout *Bohemia*, *Silesia*, *Lusacia* and *Moravia*. The Archbishop of *Prague* had once more recourse to the Magistrate, who finding himself unable to stem the force of that prevailing Torrent, refer'd the Prelate to the Emperor. But the Court was so little dispos'd to maintain the Authority of the Church, that the Affair was left in Suspence while the *Hussites* did in the mean time teach and Preach their Doctrine in Publick. That Connivance, which was more dangerous to Religion than if the Court had openly declared themselves in favour of the *Hussites*, oblig'd the Archbishop to fly to the only remedy which then remained, since that the Schism had taken away all Application to the Holy See. The Emperor *Wincestaus* had no Children, and consequently the Crown was by Succession to devolve upon his Brother *Ladislaus* King of *Hungary*. It was much the Interest of that Prince, whose Inclinations were in every respect opposite to those of his Elder Brother, that there should be no Change of Religion in *Bohemia*, for he well knew, that if that was struck at, the Crown must also feel the blow. And the Archbishop, who was particularly acquainted with that Kings Disposition, promised himself, that if he made a Journey into *Hungary*, he might prevail with *Ladislaus* to come over into *Bohemia* with an Army, and not depart thence till he had reconcil'd the *Hussites* to the Church. In this Thought he left *Prague*, but upon his first Arrival in *Hungary* he fell sick and died, without having had the least Conference with *Ladislaus*. His Death was the more lamented

lamented by all good Men, because that to him alone they owed the Peace and Quiet, which *Bohemia* had enjoy'd during so many Years; and because they were assur'd, that the Emperor would nominate to his See a Successor, equally unworthy of that Sacred Office, and incapable of Discharging those difficult Affairs, he was about to be engag'd in. The event justified what they had foreseen in its whole Extent, in that the *Hussites* took the advantage of the Death of that Prelate, whom alone they had reason to be afraid of; and that the Archbishoprick of *Prague* was filled with the most vile infamous Man then alive, in the stead of that great Man, who had advanc'd that See to the highest Degree of Eminence. This was the deplorable *Arbile*, who might have been blotted out of the Records of Time, if Pope *Pius* the II. had not taken care to have preserved his Picture. He was so overcharg'd with Fat, that he could not move himself unless by the help of a Machine, and his Soul deep sunk in that heavy Masse, but seldom exerted the Use of its natural Faculties. Avarice and Debauchery were the continual Subjects of his Meditation, and with nothing was he pleased, which did not some way or other administer to one of these two Vices. He took far more care of his Cellars and his Store-houses, than of his Church, and he constantly bore the Keys of one of them hanging on his Girdle. He kept no Servant in his Kitchen, but a Tooth-less old Woman; and when one of his Friends ask'd him, what Sound was most disagreeable to his Ear? he answer'd, the Noise of Teeth bruising a Bone. He labour'd by new Exactions to Fleece his Flock, but not to Fatten them: And so far were the Poor from reaping any Advantage from his Parsimony, that they were not allow'd to ap-

proach his Palace. Indeed, it appear'd, as if that wretched Man had been made a Bishop only to favour, by his Conduct, the Cause of the *Hussites*; nay, so great was his Stupidity, that he awoke not out of his Lethargy, even when two third Parts of *Bohemia* had gone over to their Party. The Evil was without Remedy, during the Life of *Arbile*, but he who had nominated him to the Archbishoprick of *Prague*, was punish'd for having cast his Eye upon so miserable an Object. The *Germans* grew weary of being Subject to an Emperor, who had nothing of Man in him, but the Figure, and Deposed *Winceslaus*. His Brother *Sigismond* immediately succeeded in the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and some Years after in the Empire. His extraordinary Zeal for Religion made him conceive that it would be utterly impossible to exterminate this Heresie, whilst a Schism continued in the Popedom; and 'twas this which inspired him with the most glorious Design, that for many Ages past hath enter'd in the Breast of a Catholick Prince. He undertook to prevail with the Three Pretenders to the Papacy, to lay aside their Pretensions, and to elect a 4th, who should be universally Recogniz'd as Head of the Church. The only Expedient to consummate so grand an Enterprize, was to call together a General Council, and therein lay the greatest Difficulty. For to effect this the Agreement of all those Christian Princes was requir'd, who had divided themselves, according as Passion or Interest had led them, to acknowledge one or other of the Pretending Popes. Their re-union appear'd impossible upon all Maxims of Policy. But God, who was willing at length to give Peace to the Church, after half an Age of Distraction, on the one side endow'd the Emperor with all the Qualities of Mind and Body, which

which were necessary for the Execution of that admirable Project; and on the other, by unforeseen Revolutions of Affairs he caused to cease all the Obstacles, which Humane Prudence judged capable of crossing it. The Emperor neglected the Consideration of his own Health and State to visit in Person those Kingdoms and Republicks, where he foresaw the holding of a General Council would meet with the greatest Opposition: And his Labours found such desired Success, that no Nation throughout all Europe refused that which the Emperor had requested. The Factions of *Orleans* and *Burgundy*, with which the Realm of *France* was distracted, laid aside their Animosities at his Entreaty; and the University of *Paris*, in the Persons of *Peter d'Ailly* and *John Gerson*, supplied him with two most eminent Divines, who seem'd to have been raised up by God for the healing of that Schism.

The Obstinacy of *Henry V.* King of *England* gave way, after he had discovered the Conspiracy of the *Wicklevites*, and almost by a Miracle saved himself out of the Hands of those who would have taken away his Life, and placed upon his Throne *Andicarel*, the Chief of their Sect.

Ladislaus and *Lewis* of *Anjou*, who were at Strife for the Crown of *Naples*, agreed to throw their Difference into the Hands of him who should be elected Pope in a full Council. And the Duke of *Milan* upon the same Terms made a Truce with the Republick of *Florence*. The King of *Castile* accepted of a like Expedient to deliver himself from Civil War. The King of *Arragon* agreed thereto, that he might justify the Choice which *St. Vincent Fenier* had made of his Person, to the Exclusion of all others who had more
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Right to that Crown: And the King of *Portugal* gave his Consent, the better to support himself upon the Throne, where his Subjects had placed him, notwithstanding his Bastardy, lest they should have fallen under the Domination of the *Castilians*.

§. 22. THE Town of *Constance* was pitched upon for the Place where the Council was to meet, because of its Freedom, which it owed to its Neighbourhood with the *Swiss*: And *John Huss* was solicited to appear there with the more Earnestness, as the Emperor had ever been too impotent to draw him out of *Bohemia* against his Will. The Hereticks, out of regard to their Numbers, placed themselves under the Covert of Outrage; and the Catholicks, instead of endeavouring to exterminate them, exercised their whole Prudence in preventing their own Extirpation. The Eucharist was without Opposition administer'd in both Kinds: And *John Huss*, the more to Animate his Disciples against *John XXIII.* who had condemned him, taught them that the Church of *Rome* held as an Article of Faith the Necessity of believing in the Pope, as well as that of believing in God: Whence he drew this scandalous Consequence, That in his Time it was impossible to be saved in the Communion of that Church, because that no one was able to determine which of the three Pretenders to the Popedom was the true Successor of *St. Peter*. He added, (to retain on his Side Men of wicked Lives,) That those Sinners who were punished in this World, would not be punished in the other; for that the Holy Scripture did not allow that the same Man should twice suffer for the same Crime.

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John XXIII. irritated at the Insolence of *John Huss*, writes to the Archbishop of *Prague* to assemble a third Council of the Prelates of that Nation, and to call thither the Doctors and Learned Clergy, to make it the more famous; and to cite *John Huss* before them in Order to give an Account of his Faith. This was accordingly done in the Beginning of *January*, in the Year 1414. No Body expected that *John Huss* would have appeared; and the whole World was equally surprized to find that he presented himself before the Council upon the first Day of their Sitting. It is uncertain whether the Presumption of seeing himself attended by so many Persons was the true Reason of his coming thither, or whether his Design was only to make a vain Ostentation of the Forces of his Party. This however is sure, that he had no apparent Cause of Fear; and that he did not enough esteem the Persons of whom that Council was composed, as to come before them out of any Motive of Respect. Whatever it was, he was pleased not only to give modest Answers to the Questions proposed concerning his Doctrine, but also to discover whatever was imputed to him contrary to the Catholick Faith. He protested that the Errors which he had been reproached with were but so many Calumnies. And when he was desired to make Profession of his Faith, so that he might be heard by all that were present, he in a loud Voice declared, in Terms which he had almost wholly taken out of the Sacred Scriptures, That out of Obedience to the Prelates, who were the Representatives of Jesus Christ, he was ready to give an Account of his Belief in Matters of such Importance to a Christian Man. He sincerely avow'd the Authority of the same Church over
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all its particular Members, and by consequence over himself. And then declared, That he was so far from teaching or preaching contrary to that which was held by the Church, that he was ready to spill the last Drop of his Blood in Defence of its Decisions. He then descended to Particulars, and said, That since his Enemies had accused him falsely before the Holy See of believing that the Substances of Bread and Wine remained after the Consecration of the Elements; that the Body and Blood of our Lord were that Moment of Time present only, when the Host and the Chalice were elevated; that a Priest who had fallen into any mortal Sin could not consecrate the Eucharist; that temporal Lords might again take into their Possession those Donatives which their Ancestors had bestowed on the Clergy; that Tythes were only meer Alms; that Indulgences were a Trick invented to get Money; and that the Clergy were obliged to submit themselves to the secular Powers. He declared in full Council, and desired that a Record might be made of his Profession of Faith, That he believed a real Transubstantiation in the Eucharist; that the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ continued under the Species of Bread and Wine, so long as they were capable to contain them; that the Sacraments neither depended upon the good or bad Life of the officiating Minister; that the Church could no more be deprived, without Injustice, of those Revenues which she held of the Liberality of the Faithful, than of those which she had acquired through her own Parsimony; that no Man could have any Cause or Pretext available to exempt himself from the Payment of Tythes; and that the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction was wholly independent of the Secular Power.

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The Council deceived by this plain Exposition of Faith, re-established *John Hus* in the Communion of the Church, and only forbid him for some small Time to execute the Offices of the Priesthood, that they might the better judge of the Sincerity of his Conversion. But he took no Care to observe that light Suspension; either because it repented him of his Submission, or that he apprehended it would be a Discredit to him among those of his own Party, if by any publick Performances he should shew that he ever had a Design of reconciling himself with the Catholicks. He celebrated Mass as soon as the Council was broke up; he taught more insolently than ever the same Propositions he had abjur'd; and he added new ones to them. And to fulfil the Measures of his Impudence, he endeavour'd to depreciate amongst Men the Authority of the Fathers of the Church, in teaching from some perverted Passages of Holy Writ, that Confession, as it was then in Use in the Church, was in no Respect necessary towards the obtaining a better Life after this; that all those who had perished in the Fire of *Sodom*, or who were drowned with *Pharaoh* in the *Red-sea*, were not damned. The Archbishop and Clergy were afraid to renew their Censures, lest they should thereby occasion a Civil War; because that the better Part both of the Nobles and People had declared themselves for him; so that in that Conjunction of publick Affairs it was alike impossible for them either to oppress him in *Bohemia*, or to draw him away from thence against his Will.

§ 23. AND here we must treat upon the nicest Passage of all modern History, and what hath most irreconcilably divided the Minds of

Men. The Difficulty consists in knowing, Whether the Emperor *Sigismund* and the Council of *Constance* broke their Promise to *John Hus*? Which Matter, though it be of it self very intricate, yet there are some Men who have not ceased to contribute all that Malice and Artifice have been capable of, with Design to perplex it still the more. All the Passions of Men have declared themselves, for the Affirmative, or the Negative, and the most Efficacious of Humane Interests, which is that of Religion, hath been drawn into the Quarrel. But that which is the most strange, and likewise the most deplorable, is, that Persons of the brightest Understanding have, in their Attempts to examine thoroughly into this Affair, involv'd themselves in Darknes. There are here two Questions entirely distinct, and consequently independent of each other. And of these two have been made but one. The First is, Whether the Emperor performed his Promise? The Second, Whether the Council infring'd theirs? And yet these two have been confounded, and the Question treated in the same Manner as if the Emperor's Word had been given by the Council, for the Promise of the Council had been made by the Emperor. The Intricacies have been augmented in Proportion to what the Learned have said upon this Matter. And though nothing can be more clear than that there were given to *John Hus* two Passes at two different Times, and with two different Dates, the one by the Emperor, and the other by the Council, yet nevertheless one only has been spoke of; and great Pleasure has been taken in exposing the two Authorities, the Spiritual and the Temporal, from both of which it has been pretended that this was derived, without considering that upon this Supposition

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'tis impossible but that Absurdities must follow. In fine, they have demeaned themselves so as if they were willing to shew us, That even our best Knowledge is involved in Ignorance: For they have made that a Subject of Religion which was only a Matter of Policy, and have endeavoured to impose upon us Reason of State as a Principle of Conscience. The Catholicks have imitated the capricious Passions of the Hereticks, and have not known how to contain themselves within the Bounds of Reason; which was by no Means to have made it the main Point of their Business, either to defend the Emperor or the Council, or to have entered into the Discussion of the Actions either of one or the other of them, but ingenuously to have allowed that they were both to blame, and to deny that their Example could serve as a sufficient Rule for the Catholicks to break Faith with Hereticks. It is therefore of very great Importance before all Things to fix the Truth of this Fact upon a sure Bottom, and to separate the Interests of Men from those of Religion, and of certain Clergymen who have been transported with too much Heat; to mark the true and false Steps which were made both on the one Side and the other; and to propose the just and unjust Motives of the principal Actors in that Bloody Tragedy which was represented at *Constance*. The Design is so curious, that it will be an Honour to have undertaken it, though we fail of the desired Success. And with Reason was it, that the most admirable Man, the Cardinal *du Perron* would say to his Friends, That no one could write upon any Piece of History with more Advantage than upon the Proceedings of the Emperor and Council of *Constance*, with respect to *John Huss* and *Jerome of Prague*.

It is certain, that the Kingdom of *Bohemia* was Elective at the Time of the Council of *Constance*; and that although the People of *Bohemia* had ever substituted the eldest Sons of their Kings in the Place of their Fathers, and had ever preserved the Sceptre in one Family, so long as there were Persons in it capable to bear it; and although the same People, after the Example of the Polish Men, had attained (if I may use the Expression) to such an Excess of Recognizance of those Sovereigns, who had govern'd them with Prudence, as when no Heir Male of the Royal Family was remaining, but only Daughters, to oblige those whom they should elect to espouse the eldest Daughter of that House, and to give the others in Marriage to their nearest Relations, which was the Case of the Family of *Lutsembourg*; yet this was always without Prejudice to their Right of Election. And the Estates of the Realm had never recognized the Sons after their Fathers, nor the Sons-in-Law after their Fathers-in-Law, without having first obtained of them solemn Declarations, and those in Writing, That they made no Pretensions of themselves to the Crown; that they received the Sceptre, which was given them, as a pure Act of Grace; that they were indebted for it to the Good Will of the People; and that they did not expect that their Posterity should in any respect draw any manner of Advantage from the Choice which had been made of their Persons. And then they engaged themselves by a reciprocal Treaty to preserve with the utmost Exactness the Privileges of *Bohemia*, and to consent to be depos'd if in the least they should infringe them. One of these Privileges was, That no Person should be compelled to go out of the Kingdom against his Inclination upon any Cause whatsoever,

ever; and *John Huss*, as well as others, was comprised under a Rule so general, that it would bear no Exception.

Sigismund could neither constrain him as Emperor, for that *Bohemia* did in no wise depend upon the Empire, though the King thereof was an Elector of the Empire; nor as King of *Bohemia*, because that he had renounced that Power at his taking upon himself the Crown. Besides, he had no Army to draw him from *Prague* by Force; and if he had one, it would have been to no Effect, since the same People of *Bohemia*, who defended themselves so obstinately after the Death of *John Huss*, that *Sigismund* was obliged to grant them Liberty of Conscience, or they would have taken Arms with more Heat and Effort, if they had been encouraged with the Presence of *John Huss*, who joined always Menaces to Entreaties when he was about to lead on his Followers to any hard Enterprize; and who, besides his majestick and venerable Mien, was the most eloquent Preacher of his Age. It must therefore be, that *John Huss* was of himself resolved to go to the Council; and that knowing well he had not at *Constance* the same Privileges which he enjoyed at *Prague*, he had prayed the Emperor to grant him a Pass in the best Form which was in Use in the Imperial Court. It is not easy to divine what was the Reason which mov'd him to make that Journey; and though we might without much ado satisfy the publick Curiosity in this Point, yet it would be useless to do so, since that would by no means serve to clear up the Difficulty. *John Huss* was perhaps so fully perswaded of the Truth of his Doctrine, as to believe that he could defend it in full Council; or so rash, as to hope to make them approve of it; or so presumptuous, as to seek

seek by that Means the Reputation of an Ingenious Man, upon the most famous Theatre in the Christian World; or it may be, his Impudence carried him so far as to make him imagine, that he could instill the Errors of *Wickliff* and himself into the Minds of many of the Divines there; or, if one could believe his Folly to have been so deplorable, one may conjecture that he had so good an Opinion of himself, and thought himself so well skilled in the Sophisms of Logick, as to be able to acquit himself by casting Dust before their Eyes, if he was not so fortunate as to imprint his Sentiments in their Hearts. It appeared by the Event that he had deceived himself in his Expectations; and that he had made the greatest Slip it was possible for him to have made towards himself. But as that Event came after the Pass which was granted him, and not before, we will not pretend to justify it.

§. 24. *John Hus* arrived then at *Constance* attended with certain Gentlemen of *Bohemia*, and the Magistrates of the Town, who was then free, granted him at the Request of the Council a second Pass, different from the former, in that it was neither full, simple, or without Restriction; but in express Terms declared, That it was only to justify himself from the Crimes imputed to him, and to convince his Accusers of Calumny. It is uncertain whether *John Hus* took any Notice of the last Clause; or whether he neglected it as a Trifle; or thought with himself, that howsoever it was interpreted, it would be explained by the Emperors, the Terms of which were evident, general, absolute, and without reserve. But howsoever this was, 'tis certain that he was content therewith, and made no manner of Difficulty in receiving

receiving it. After having visited *John XXIII.* and all the other Prelates of the Council, he caused it to be affixed upon the Doors of the Churches and Monasteries of *Constance* by certain solemn Instruments, and at the same Time his Friends caused it to be published throughout all the principal Towns in *Germany*, that he had presented himself before the Council to give an Account of his Faith; and that he invited all those who doubted of his Religion, or who held him in Suspicion, to bring in their Actions against him before the most August Tribunal in Christendom. That Step was fruitless: But it was not for want of Appearance in their Court that the Fathers took it; but what they solely went upon was, that *John Huss* had recognized them, and sued to them to be his Judges. And so without waiting for any farther Insight into the Matter, *John XXIII.* admitted of what he had to say in his Defence; and gave Leave to *John* the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, to the Bishop of *Sutée*, and to *Bernard* Bishop of *Cité de Castello*, to draw a Breviate of the Case of *John Huss*, and to make their Report thereof to the Council. That Heresiarch was so prepossess'd in Favour of himself, that he knew not the Danger he had thrown himself into, nor began to fall into any Distrust, 'till his Judges had signified to him that his Accusers were come, and that he was not permitted to depart from *Constance* until Judgment had been pronounced concerning him. As there is nothing more difficult to sincere Persons than upon light Grounds to take up Suspensions, so it is almost impossible for them to dismiss them, or not to increase them when once taken up; for when that Word, which was their sole Foundation of Trust, hath been once violated, nothing will remain behind

hind sufficient to confirm them in their Belief. The Walls of *Constance* had no sooner been made the Bounds of *John Huss's* Prison, than that Diminution of his Liberty caused him to apprehend some sinister Event. He was seized with Terror upon seeing of his professed Enemies; and upon finding that the most considerable among the Clergy of *Bohemia* were in the Number of his Accusers. That Terror was augmented in Proportion to the much greater Exactness and Severity which the Judges observed in their Forms, than what was in use in *Germany*; And he believed, though too late, that it would neither be so successful, nor so easy to convince the Fathers and Divines of that Council, as to harangue in the Church of *Bethleem* in *Bohemia*; at *Prague* before a Multitude of *Laicks*, who were Lovers of Novelty; at Court in the Presence of the Nobility, who were desirous to rob the Churches of their Revenues; or in the Market-Place, before the Dregs of the People, who were glad to be informed of the secret Irregularities of the Clergy, and dispos'd to believe without Distinction or Reserve whatever should be said to them upon that Head. The Witnesses were so numerous, that they could not possibly be corrupted; and their Agreement so perfect, that they could not be rejected. No legal Exception could be made against them; and their large and circumstantial Depositions clearly proved, That *John Huss* had been the Cause of all the Disturbances which for six Years before had happened in *Bohemia* upon the Account of Religion; and that to him were principally owing the Sacrilegious Acts which had been there committed, the Prophaneness which had been there authorized; and that through him Vows of Chastity had been

been violate, and Ecclesiastical Revenues pillag'd. He nevertheless prepared himself to answer in his own Behalf by casting the greatest Part of the Ills which were objected to him upon the deposed Emperor *Wenceslaus*, and the less upon the licentious Life of the Clergy of *Bohemia*. And this he did, until such Time as new Opportunities should offer themselves of providing for his Safety. The first of which Sort was suggested to him by a Gentleman of his Party, who had accidentally fallen into Conversation, where it was said by certain Bishops, That *John Huss* could not otherwise free himself from the Perplexity of his Affairs, unless he retracted his Opinions, and did publick Penance for them. The second was occasioned by the Bishop of *Constance*: That Prelate was informed by the Adversaries of *John Huss*, that he every Day said Mass, or that the People flock'd from all Quarters of the Town to hear him, notwithstanding that the Censures which had been thundred out against him by his own Bishop, the Archbishop of *Prague*, had never been taken off. This was a manifest Outrage upon the Jurisdiction of the Church. And as all the Bishops were equally concerned to punish that Offence, so the Bishop of *Constance* both forbid *John Huss* to celebrate Mass in his Diocese, and likewise all other Persons to assist him. *John Huss* regarded not his Prohibition. Whether it was that he held the Bishop in Disdain, or that he believed himself to be exempt from his Jurisdiction: And the Townsmen of *Constance* did not forbear frequenting his Assemblies. So that the Bishop was obliged to have recourse to another Expedient, which was this: He complains to the Magistrate of the scandalous Meetings which were held in the House of *John Huss*: He remonstrated

ted to him, that That Clergyman of *Bohemia* was accused of Heresie throughout all Christendom : He exaggerated the Danger the People of *Constance* were in of being infected ; and he intreated him to discharge in that Point one the most principal Function of his Office. It is not known whether that Request had been before concerted between the Bishop and the Magistrate : But it is certain that there was an Agreement betwixt them. And *John Huss* was no sooner informed thereof, than he began to think there was no longer any Safety for him in *Constance*. His Friends advised Flight : And because his Enemies very narrowly observed him, he was resolved to overreach their Vigilance by disguising himself. *Henry de Salzembroc* furnish'd him with the Habit of a Peasant, and undertook to carry him out of the Town in a Cart laden with Forage, where he was in a manner buried, insomuch that no Man could easily perceive him, much less know him. The Artifice might have succeeded, if any other Instrument had been employed to execute it but *Salzembroc*. But the Friends of *John Huss* were so unhappy as to address themselves to those Citizens who were the least proper to assist in his Escape : For *Salzembroc* was the chief Spy that was set over him, and had taken upon himself the Care of his Person. And indeed he acquainted the Magistrate with all the Measures they took ; and the Cart was scarce got without the Gates before it was encompassed round with a Troop of Horse. *Salzembroc*, who was then perswaded that it was no Time to dissemble, shews the Place where *John Huss* lay concealed, and aided them in their taking him from thence. The History, which is most severe upon the *Hussites*, as is that of *Coclins*, hath not omitted to remark
upon

upon the Memoirs of *Ubric de Richendal*, who was present at the Action, That the Constancy of their Chief was such, that he lost it not even in that Conjunction, when he saw himself so manifestly stopp'd and betrayed. He pretended notwithstanding that they took him for another: He complained of their having retarded his Journey: He took great Offence at their having taken him from under the Hay, where he had crept to avoid the Extremity of the Cold so violent in *Switzerland*; though the Season was far advanc'd, and it was then the third Sunday in *Lent*, in the Year 1415. He next shewed the Emperor's Pass, as what he judged capable of obliging the Soldiers, who encompassed him, to let him proceed in his Journey with all Safety; so much was he prepossess'd, that let the Matter turn as it would, the Pass would remain inviolable. 'Tis uncertain upon what Principle he so readiy, and without any Mean, passed from the one Extream of his Distrust, to the other Extream of Security: And one can impute a Motion so extravagant to nothing more than a certain Species of Giddiness, to which the ablest Heads are subject upon their becoming sensible of the first Symptoms of the greatest Misfortunes, which are about to fall upon them. But *Salzembroc* did not suffer him to indulge himself in that vain Credulity, but told him that the Pass, upon which he so much relied, did not hinder him from being compelled to clear himself from the Crimes with which he was charged; and that he might still be put to Death as an Heretick, if he did not revoke all that he had taught contrary to the Sentiments of the Church.

The Menace of Death, and a Death so severe as that which is the Punishment of Heresie, fill'd the Mind of *John Huss* with all those frightful Images which he had but now dissipated, and suggested no other Thoughts to him than how to escape from so eminent a Danger. He sily stole off from his Horse, upon which the Commander of the Regiment, which had been sent out to take him, had caused him to mount, even tho' he was under the Guard of two Soldiers: And his Diligence was such, that he had intermingled himself amongst the Gentlemen of *Bohemia*, who had attended him as a Convoy, before he could be observed by them. But as they were not in a Condition to resist the Cavalry of *Constance*, they were forced to discover him, and to deliver him up as a Prisoner, whom they were unable to defend. He was brought back into the Town, and confined in a Monastery of *Dominican* Friars, where he was guarded with more Precaution than if he had been put into the common Prisons, except that they allowed to visit him Persons whose Virtue and Knowledge were so well known, as to give reason to hope that their Conversation might prevail with him to do Penance for his Fault. His Friends, surprized at what had happen'd, went in Quest of the Emperor, who had judg'd his Presence necessary at *Constance*, to put an End to those Factions which had been form'd with Design to break up the Council before the Schism was healed.

§. 25. THEY call'd upon his Imperial Majesty to make good that Promise which of his Clemency he had made *John Huss*; and they represented to him that the Violation of the publick Faith would compel Strangers, who had come to
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the Council either with Design to inform themselves, or to give an Account of their Faith, to the Necessity of flying from thence, and to shun by a Retreat, which would be shameful to so many Persons of Quality, the Danger to which their Lives had been exposed.

The Emperor did in no wise answer that his Pass was limited, and that *John Huss* had not fulfilled the Conditions upon which he had granted it. He did in no wise pretend that he had made himself unworthy of it by celebrating Mass without the Permission, and contrary to the Injunction of the Bishop of the Place: He had no Recourse to the Informations which had been given of Heresies taught by *John Huss*, even since his Appearance at the Council, to conclude, as it was afterwards done, that his Pass did not exempt him from a Crime which he had committed some Time after that Pass was granted. On the contrary, his Imperial Majesty seemed to continue his Grant, and likewise to suppose that the Pass was full and simple by two Acts of his: The one was that absolute Answer which he gave to the Gentlemen of *Bohemia*, That he would see *John Huss* delivered without Condition or Delay. The other was the general Proposition which that Prince made to the Council, not only to remove the Guards from him, and to suffer him to return to his own House as before; but also to send him back into *Bohemia*, if he should shew the least Desire thereof. 'Tis true, that the Answer of the Council was not comprehended in Terms so extensive; and that the Fathers declared by the Mouth of their Prolocutor, that *John Huss* had not acquitted himself of the Promises made to the Magistrate of *Constance*; and that the Magistrate was not consequently bound to dismiss him.

They

They added, That the Council, which was obliged in Duty to do Justice to the whole World, could not refuse it to the Clergy of *Bohemia*; especially since it was not the Clergy of *Bohemia* who had brought *John Hufs* before them, but *John Hufs* who had called the Clergy thither; and that the Action was begun by the Consent of both Parties, and therefore that they could not lay it aside without the Consent of both Parties to that Suspension: That the Clergy of *Bohemia* were resolved to see the End of it; and that *John Hufs* had acted very ill in absenting himself when the Matter was come to a Trial, after having forced his Adversaries to undergo the Fatigue, and put themselves to the Expence of the Journey: That it was both the Interest of the Council and of Religion to hinder *John Hufs* from returning back before the Decision of the Cause; for that, if it was true that he was an Heretick, and not ceased till the Time of his Confinement to teach erroneous Doctrines, which had been condemned in preceding Councils, they had reason to fear, that if he departed from *Constance* before the Council had determined concerning his Case, he would perswade the People of *Bohemia*, who should see him return without having revoked any Thing that he had taught, that the whole Church, assembled in so august a Body, had approved of his Doctrine, and that therefore they might embrace it without Scruple, notwithstanding that the particular Church of *Bohemia* had condemn'd it; from whence it might happen, that not only that Kingdom would become Heretical, but moreover that *Hungary* and *Poland* (where *John Hufs* had Friends no less desirous to communicate under both Kinds, nor better affected to the Clergy, who were in Possession of two third Parts

Parts of their Territories) would separate themselves from other Catholick Crowns, without Hopes of being ever reunited.

We have no Mark remaining whereby to decide clearly, whether the Emperor was convinc'd by the Reasons of the Council, or whether he wanted Force to resist it so long as 'till he had taken *John Huss* out of their Hands. He might perhaps be afraid of losing the Fruit of his Labours, in furnishing the Malecontents with a Pretext, which they stood in need of, to dissolve the Council; and he might suspect the Wilfulness which he observed in the Fathers upon the Matter of *John Huss* to proceed from their being despirited with the Difficulties which daily increased upon the Choice of a Pope, and the Affair of giving Peace to the Church; and that this was only a Cloak to disguise that Retreat they were thinking of. It might be, he supposed that the Welfare of the Church Universal was so considerable, that it was not of much Importance to sacrifice thereto one poor Master of Arts in *Bohemia*, whom he well knew to have deserved Punishment. And the Interest which he had in that Kingdom might perhaps make so strong an Impression upon him, as to force him to consent to the Destruction of a Man, who so long as he lived would never abstain from fomenting a Civil War.

However it was, that Prince gave the Council full liberty to treat *John Huss* as they thought fit; and the Gentlemen of *Bohemia* seeing themselves abandon'd, were not yet disheartened, tho' they were under a double Obligation to his Imperial Majesty, as Emperor of *Germany*, and as their particular Sovereign. They addressed themselves to the Council, nevertheless without acknowledging

knowledging its Authority for the Matter in
 hand, and represented to it by an accurate Petition,
 after many Protestations, that they departed from
 their Country to accompany *John Huss*, with all
 the Precautions that Prudence could require in
 such Circumstances; the principal of which was
 the Pass, the Validity whereof they seemed to
 call in question; that it was made in the most
 ample and authentick Form, that it could be
 drawn up in, since the King's Court had been
 erected; and that it contain'd in exprefs Terms,
 that whatever should happen, the said *John Huss*
 and his Companions should be allow'd the Liber-
 ty of returning into *Bohemia*, what way soever
 they would, without any other Pass-port; that
 besides the strong and general Expression, there
 was another no less considerable, altho' it was not
 expressed in so clear Words, which was, that the
 Emperor declar'd, that he would take *John Huss*
 and his Attendants into the Protection of the
 Empire, during their Journey to *Constance*, and
 their continuance there; that the effect of that
 particular Protection had ever been to render the
 Persons concern'd as inviolable, as the Amba-
 sadors of Foreign Nations were in *Germany*; that
 tho' the Council had no regard to those two in-
 vincible Reasons, that they ought to have some
 consideration for the two Charters of *John Huss*,
 the one as born in *Bohemia*, the other as a Priest
 of that Realm. As a Citizen of *Bohemia*, he
 could not be drawn thence, nor retain'd against
 his Will to Plead before any Foreign Court; The
 Laws of that State were exprefs, and the Empe-
 ror was so much the more bound to maintain
 them, as *Bohemia* was an Electorate of the Em-
 pire; and as a Priest, he was less oblig'd to own
 a Foreign Jurisdiction, since that it was the grand
 Priviledge

Priviledge of the Clergy of *Bohemia*, not to be removed out of the Territories of *Bohemia*, upon any Cause whatsoever, even tho' the King should consent thereto: That if Example was of more weight than Reason, they desir'd him to consider, that those who had been accounted and condemn'd as Hereticks in the Council of *Pise*, were allowed the Liberty of coming to the Council of *Constance*, of tarrying there as long as they pleas'd, and of returning with all Safety, only *John Hufs* must be taken into Custody without Summons or Conviction, at the time when he thought to save himself, by an Innocent Statagem, from the Secret Snares of his Enemies, and be shut up in a dark Chamber, have his Hands and Feet loaden with Irons, and be fed with Bread and Water.

The Council shew'd no regard to the Petition, whether it was, that they thought no Priviledge available to hinder them from pronouncing an absolute Sentence in an Ecclesiastical Cause, as was that of *John Hufs*; or that they believ'd the said *John Hufs* had abrogated that Priviledge, by citing his Adversaries to appear, and by appearing with them before the Council. There happen'd however a few Days after an Accident, which might have set the Prisoner at Liberty, if he had but endeavour'd to give himself some little Assistance, or his Friends had taken care to corrupt the Guards. *John* the 23^d had betaken himself to *Constance*, in hopes that his Presence might have prevail'd upon the Council to recognize him as the lawful Successor of *St. Peter*, and to degrade his two Competitors, who had neither the Courage to present themselves, nor pay'd so much Deference to the Council, as to submit to it. But when he saw the Fathers resolv'd to

Depose him as well as the rest, and to proceed to the Election of a New Pope, he departed thence on the Night following, after having posted up a Paper, in which he protested against all the Proceedings of the Council during his Absence as null and void. To certain of his Domesticks was the care of *John Huss* committed, who had endeavour'd to implant in them a Veneration of his Person, by entertaining them every Day with Pious Discourses, which he had compos'd during his Imprisonment. But he had no Money, and such sort of Men were not to be won upon by the Allurements of his Devotion. The *Bohemian* Gentlemen had offer'd him nothing, because they despair'd of Corrupting them, not having foreseen the flight of their Master. So the Domesticks of *John XXIII.* who cared not to betray their Trust for no Reward, and not daring to furnish the Council with new Reasons to proceed against their Patron, at their Departure from *Constance* carried to the Magistrate the Keys of *John Huss's* Prison, and advis'd speedily to set a Guard there. The Council being rendred more distrustful by the Risque they had run of losing their Prisoner, hastened the Process, and named Commissioners out of all the Nations there, to proceed therein without relaxation. The most considerable of his Disciples, *Jerome of Prague*, who had attended *John Huss* out of Respect, was also Arrested, for that he had given the Council reason to suspect his Religion, and both were assign'd to the 5th of *April*, to give an Account of their Doctrine in full Council. Then they examin'd the 45 Articles of *Wickliffe*, and the Council did not satisfie themselves in condemning them, as had been done in *England*, and the most famous Universities of Europe, but likewise censur'd his Memory,

Memory, and declared him unworthy of Christian Burial. That last Punishment did not so much regard the Dead Corps of *Wickliffe*, which they were willing enough to have interr'd and cast to the Worms, as the living Persons of *John Huss* and *Jerome of Prague*, whom they endeavour'd to intimidate by so severe an Example, in shewing them before-hand, that they had nothing to expect but a like Punishment, unless they in good time should retract their Tenets: and indeed, the Cardinals of *Florence* and *Cambray* made this severe Act the Foundation of their Exhorting the two Prisoners to make a Surrender of themselves. This they consented to, and demanded of the Council, that they would be pleased to present to them a Form of Abjuration. the Council receiv'd the News hereof with so much Joy, that they caused *Te Deum* to be Sung upon the Account, and all the Bells in *Constance* convey'd the Sound thereof to the adjacent Places. They persisted a second Time in the same Resolution; and the Council being assembled to determine in what manner they ought to be treated; it was agreed, that their return could not be permitted, without hazard to the Consciences of their Fellow-Countrymen. The Emperor was entreated to Banish them into certain Towns lying within the Bounds of *Sweden*, and to allow each of them a Stipend capable of subsisting Six Persons, to make their Exile the more Supportable, upon Condition nevertheless, that they should *viva voce* retract, and with their own Hands Subscribe and Sign the Abjuration of their Errors in the *Bohemick* Language, which should afterwards be sent and publish'd throughout all the Churches of that Realm.

§. 26, *John Hufs* and *Jerome of Prague* made no scruple at the Retraction and Banishment ; but the necessity of disavowing their Doctrine in the Language of their own Country, shock'd them more than Fire and Faggot ; whether it was, that Shame was their reigning Passion, or that their Denial was not sincere ; and they might imagine, that it would be of no great prejudice to their Party, since that the People of *Bohemia* could not be convinced that they had changed their Sentiments. But at length to hinder the Fathers from proceeding further in their Condemnation, which could not be defer'd, as being the Consequence of the Condemnation of *Wickliffe* ; *John Hufs* presents unto them a Writing, the Substance of which was, that for fear of Perjury he could not resolve to retract in general all the Articles they had imputed to him, for that his Conscience did not reproach him with having taught them, and that consequently those who had deposed him before the Council, had been false Witnesses. He added, that the Articles extracted out of his Books had not been faithfully extracted ; and yet if there were any to be found there, which were false in their true Sense, he detested them with all his Heart, and offer'd to retract them, provided that he might do it without injury to the Truth, and without rejecting the Expressions of the ancient Fathers, which did not always agree with those of Modern Divines ; but that in every respect he was willing to revoke whatsoever should be found contrary to Religion in any part of his Books. This Memorial was remitted by the Fathers to the Commissioners appointed for the Case of *John Hufs* ; who send back answer by the Cardinal of *Florence*, that Truth following the Expres-

sion of Holy Writ, was established in the Mouth of two or three Witnesses ; that he had had twenty against him ; All of them without Exception, and the most part of them Doctors, who had deposed nothing but what they said they had either seen or heard, and that their Witness did so agree together, that it was impossible to find therein the least Contradiction ; that the Council was oblig'd to accept of it ; and that as *John Hufs* would have taken Advantage from their Disposition if it had been favourable to him, so 'ought he to bear the Detriment which hath accru'd to him from its being otherwise. *John Hufs* made no immediate Reply, but the Day after he presented a Petition to the Council, in which he excepted against two of the Commissioners. The one was *Stephen Palets*, the other was *John Gerson*, Chancellor of the University of *Paris*. *Palets* was accused, for that having taken upon himself, as Doctor, to make an Extract of such Propositions, as were suspected of Heresie, he had not taken notice of one Passage, which he had either maimed, or wrested into a different Sense from that of the Author. And the Accusation against *Gerson* was, that he, as one of the Principal Officers of the University of *Paris*, had censur'd the Books of *Wickliffe* without having seen any but false and imperfect Copies, and had made himself the Principal Instrument in their Condemnation, tho' among the Articles, against which he had so much noise, several were to be found, which had been taken word for word, out of the Writings of the Holy Fathers, which *Gerson* had never read ; from whence it might be concluded beforehand, on which side that Chancellour would be, and that his Testimony ought not to be receiv'd. But the Fathers did not only reject the Exception
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of *John Hufs* as impertinent, but moreover shewed him that nothing was more unjust than his Complaint of *Palets*, who, besides that he had taken care to extract the very Words, and to express entire Propositions, had always followed the Sense, which was most favourable to *John Hufs*, inso-much that he had left out whole Articles, the Words of which did not so clearly contain a perfect Heresie. As to *Gerson*, it will be enough to give him the Praise he deserv'd, and to place him in Competition with the best Divines, that ever appear'd upon the Stage of the Christian World, and to say, that if his Censure of *Wickliffe* was blame-worthy, it was a fault common with him to the Council, who had done little more than confirm the Decree of the Faculty of Divinity at *Paris*.

In the beginning of *July*, the Cardinal of *Cambray* charitably press'd him to make his Retraction in that Form which the Council demanded, and promised him, that in that Case the Council would favour him out of respect to the Emperor, who had solicited for him; whereas if he insisted upon a regular Conference, he would ruin himself thereby, in that the Divines appointed to convince him, would engage him infallibly in the heat of Dispute, to consent to certain Consequences by far more contrary to the Faith of the Church, than those Propositions of which they had accused him. *John Hufs* modestly reply'd, that he was not come to maintain any thing with Obstinacy, but to learn from the Fathers and his Masters what he ought to Believe; and when one of the Cardinals Attendants had told him, that what he said was Equivocal, and that it appear'd well, that he would submit himself to the Instruction of the Council, but not to its Correction nor

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its Doctrine; he answer'd, by repeating the same Terms, that he would submit himself to the Correction and Sentence of the Council. The Cardinal took him at his Word, and gave him a Pen to write down his Retraction in the *Bohemick* Language; but he had recourse to the preceding Difficulty, in calling God to Witness, that it was the fear of Lying, that hindred him.

He was then introduc'd at two different Times into an Assembly, where the Emperor was, who familiarly exhorted him to make his Retraction, but in vain. Whereupon the 6th day of *July* he was to terminate this Affair; but nevertheless, before that time they sent to him four Bishops, and so many Gentlemen of his own Country, who brought back nothing but Ambiguous Reasons. When the day was come, he was brought forth into the Cathedral Church, where the Council sat, and was required to pronounce an *Anathema* against the Errors of *Wickliffe*, from which he excused himself by a long Discourse, which turn'd upon these two Heads; The one, that it was against his Conscience so to do; the other, that he did not hold, as absolutely False, all that *Wickliffe* had taught, and that he thought himself bound at least to except three Propositions. The first of which was, that *Constantine* had offended God in granting to the Church Civil Powers: The Second, that a Priest, who had fallen into any deadly Sin, was not a valid Administrator of the Sacraments: And the third was, that Tythes were but meer Alms, wherewith he was then accused and convicted. The Bishop of *Lodis* having entred the Pulpit to encourage the Father to the Extirpation of Heresie; the Sentence was pronounc'd against *John Hufs* by the Mouth of the Bishop of *Concord*, in Terms, whereof the Sense was,
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That he had been duly Attainted and Convicted of the Crime of Hereſie ; that his Appeal was Scandalous, Injurious and Ridiculous, as calling in doubt the Supreme Jurisdiction of an Eccleſiaſtical Tribunal ; that he had ſeduced by his Sermons and Books the Chriſtian People of *Bohemia* ; and that he was not willing to remedy thoſe Evils, of which he had been the Author by an Authentick diſavowal of them ; Wherefore the Holy Council Decreed, that he ſhould be degraded from the Order of Prielt-hood, of which he was unworthy, and gave it in Charge to the Biſhops of *Milan, Montefalco, Aſt, Alexandria, Prague and Venice*, to ſee the Sentence of Degradation executed upon him in the Forms preſcrib'd by the Canon-Law, and that the Criminal ſhould be deliver'd over to the Secular Arm. *John Huſs* heard the Sentence pronounc'd againſt himſelf, without ever attempting to interrupt the Perſon that pronounc'd it ; in that he imagin'd it would have been permitted him afterward to Harrangue the whole Aſſembly in ſuch a manner as he had propoſed to himſelf in order to move their Compaſſion, but he was enjoyn'd Silence the very moment he began to ſpeak. He was by force taken down from the Place where he had got up ; and they haſten'd to put upon him the Sacerdotal Veſtments, that they might with Shame ſtrip them off again. The Ceremony was concluded with the putting upon his Head a Bonnet of Paper, with this Inſcription, *Lo this is the Hereſiarch*. And then the Duke of *Bavaria*, upon the 6th of July 1415, deliver'd him into the Hands of the Magiſtrate, who cauſed him to be led, after he had been ſhaven all over, as Sorcerers are uſed in *Germany*, to the Market-place, where was prepared a Pile of Wood around a Stake. Before he was faſten'd to the Stake, it was demand-

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ed of him, whether or no he would Retract, but this he refused to do with greater Resolution than when he was before the Council ; he lost neither his Judgment nor Calmness of Temper, which the most Constant and Couragious are apt to do at the sight of Torments.

§. 27. If we consider the Exterieur part of Virtue only, it will be difficult to find a more undaunted Behaviour at the Hour of Death than was seen in *John Huss*. All the outward Acts, which the most solid Devotion could suggest, were put in Practice by him : He spoke modestly of the Emperor and the Council ; he excused the necessity he was under of denying the Depositions of the Witnesses, by another Necessity more indispensable, which was that of speaking Truth ; he pardon'd them, and prayed for them ; he let not the least word fall from him, which shewed any manner of application to his Temporal Affairs ; he made his humble Confession to Almighty God, which was so much the more pathetick, as it was frequently interrupted by profound Sighs ; and his Fervour seem'd to be redoubled at the sight of the Torch, which was to set Fire to the Pile. Nevertheless, before the straw was kindled, *Lewis Duke of Bavaria*, and the Count *de Papenheim*, by a secret Commission from the Emperor, appear'd upon their Horses, and their Presence caused to retire on the one side the Executioner, who held the Torch : As they were Persons, whom *John Huss* knew and esteem'd, he left off his Prayers to hear them ; and nothing could be more moving than the Exhortations which they gave him ; for as Gentlemen, who made Arms their Profession, they had learned Eloquence, and had read good Books : He suffer'd them to finish what they had

to say without interruption, and then told them, it was a sensible Affliction to him at his last Moments, not to be able to grant them the Satisfaction they desir'd; that they ought to look upon Scripture, which commands to obey God rather than Man. The departure of the Duke and Count serv'd as a Signal to the Executioner to set fire to the Pile; the Flame whereof was on a sudden so great, that we may presume *John Huss* was immediately suffocated thereby, for that he spoke not after, nor shewed any Sign of Life. His Ashes were cast into the *Rhine* with Ceremony, to prevent his Followers from revering them, or substituting others in their stead, which might have contributed not a little to deceive the Vulgar: And the Council wrote a Circular Letter to the Churches of *Bohemia*, in which the Causes of the Severity exercised upon *John Huss* were explain'd, and those who had embrac'd his Errors, were exhorted to return to the Communion of the Church: In the Close a like Treatment was threatened against those who should imitate that Heresiarch in his Obstinacy. We have reason to believe, that it was that Conclusion, which augmented the Ill, instead of allaying it, by causing a Sedition, which broke out in *Prague* upon the reading of that Letter.

Jacobel and others, who had preach'd up the Communion under two Kinds, being affrighted at the Punishment of their Master, and fearing the like treatment, despaired of saving themselves by any other means than a Civil War, and labour'd only to make the People, whom they had corrupted, irreconcilable with the Catholics.

To arrive at this, within a few Hours they enter into a Conspiracy, which they put in execution in less Time than they had form'd it.

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The *Hussites* assembled themselves by Night in the most considerable Place of *Prague*; and after having invoc'd their Prophet, whom they look'd upon as a Martyr, they divided themselves into divers Troops, to revenge his Death straightway upon those of the Clergy whom they suspected to have procured it: They surrounded the Houses of those Persons, and broke them open. It was of no Significancy to offer them Money, or to expose the most valuable Goods in the House to their Discretion, they said they were come neither for Money nor Goods. None the most secret Place was left unsearch'd in quest of those whom they doom'd to die, until they had found them, and had glutted their Rage upon them by depriving them of Life, and disfiguring their Bodies after a thousand extravagant Manners: Then they dragg'd them into the River *Molde*, and plung'd them into those Places where the Course of the Water was most rapid, under pretence of hindering them from being made Reliques. But the principal Effort was against the House of the Archbishop, where the greatest Numbers of the *Hussites* were got together. The obstinate Resistance of the Domesticks of that Prelate could not prevent the House from being broke open, and served only to give their Master Opportunity of escaping through a Back-Door. The Magistrate finding himself unable to quell this Tumult, waited till it should calm it self: And the *Hussites* convinc'd of their Power by that Connivance, thought of nothing but asserting to themselves an entire Liberty.

During this Disturbance the Council took into their Examination the verbal Process which the Archbishop of *Vienna* had issued out against *Jerom* of *Prague*. As his Affair was common with that

of *John Hufs*, so the Fathers were resolved to put an End to it, all the Difficulties which could possibly attend it being removed, although the Matter was prolong'd and delay'd till the Year following by an egregious Cheat.

§. 28. THE Cardinal of *Cambray*, the chief Commissioner appointed to examine *Jerom* of *Prague*, thought himself oblig'd to begin with a serious Exhortation; which he pressed so close, that he thought he had surmounted the Obstinacy of the Criminal. And indeed, *Jerom* of *Prague* did not only appear to have chang'd his Sentiments, but likewise to pay a blind Defference to the Judgment of the Council; and that it was but to prescribe what was necessary and befitting his Conversion, to be convinc'd by Experience that it was sincere. The Cardinal made his Report to the Council, and took it upon himself to draw up in good Form an Abjuration of the Errors of *Wickliff* and *John Hufs*. As soon as this was prepared, *Jerom* of *Prague* was sent for by the Council, who commanded him to stand upon an high Seat, from whence he might easily be heard by the whole Assembly. He begun his Discourse by an Exposition of what had obliged him to appear before so august a Body, and he went on in speaking very meanly of himself, and comparing himself to those *Jews* who gave nought but Trifles towards the Building of the Tabernacle, whereas others brought Silver and Gold, and precious Stones. Then he read the Abjuration, which had been drawn up, with a very intelligible Voice, and added three Things which were very important. The first was, That he had been deceived by the Appearance of Virtue, which was conspicuous in the Person of *John Hufs*. The second, That
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he would live in a perfect and entire Submission to the Council. And the third was, That in case he should happen to maintain in any manner any one of those Articles which he abjured, he would renounce all Privileges, and would consent that they should proceed against him by all the Ways Canonical and Civil, which had been appointed against Heresiarchs. He had expected, by a Declaration so formal and so general, that they would have given him his full Liberty, and that they would have permitted him to return to *Bohemia*, where he imagined he should succeed to the whole Authority of *John Huss*. But his Example had prevail'd with the Council to proceed with more Circumspection in regard to the Prisoner that remained, and not to release him till he had given sufficient Proofs and Assurances of his Conduct for the future. They suffered him nevertheless to see all manner of Persons, and to entertain himself familiarly, and without Inspection, with all whosoever should have the Curiosity to visit him; *i. e.* they gave him an Opportunity to ruin himself without thinking of it: For instead of using discreetly the Indulgence they granted him until the Dissolution of the Council, after which Time he had nothing to fear, he discover'd himself too soon, and ceased to brag of his having dissembled with the Council until such Time only as the *Hussites* sent a Delegate to the Council, to expostulate with them the Death of their Prophet, and to demand Reparation for it. That Step, which was followed by a like Proceeding from *Poland*, the *Hussites* in that Country having given the same Commission to the Archbishop of *Gnesne*, and the Archdeacon of *Posnannia*, suggested so much Presumption to *Jerom of Prague*, that he believed he might safely

lately speak his Thoughts before his Fellow-Countrymen, without regarding whether or no they were Favourers of him. And indeed so it was, that they declared themselves against him, and accused him of a Relapse into Heresie.

§. 29. THE Council provoked at the Inconstancy of that *Proteus*, who made no Scruple either of Lying or Perjury, provided that he could thereby accomodate his Sentiments to his Fortune, obliged him to appear before them the 27th Day of April, 1416. And Witnesses, against whom no Exception could be made; deposed, That he had attempted to instil into their Minds the Errors of *Wickliff*, since that he himself had condemned them. A Trespass so sudden, and so manifest, having open'd the Scene to all Accusations of Error, whether old or new, *Henry* of *Prague*, Prolocutor to the Council, objected to him, That he had endeavoured to pervert *Germany*, *Hungary*, *Poland*, and *Bohemia*; that he had fled out of Prison at *Vienna*, contrary to the Promises he had made of tarrying there until he had cleared himself of certain scandalous Propositions, which he was said to have taught there. He added, That in his experimental Essays, the same *Jerom* of *Prague* had broke out into detestable and impudent Actions; that he had wrote very severe Satires against the Dukes of *Austria*, *Bavaria*, the Clergy of *Prague*, and the Holy See: That in the Year 1412, upon the Feast of *St. Vences*, the Patron of his Country, he had stirred up the *Hussites* to penetrate with their main Body into a Monastery of *Franciscan* Friars, where they had prophaned the Altars, and trod under Foot the Reliques of the Saints: That he had caused a Preacher to be imprisoned only for
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having declaimed against *Wickliff*; and that that Clergyman was not released till he had suffered all the Indignities, which Barbarians usually inflict upon their worst Enemies; that he had publicly struck a *Franciscan* with his Fist; that he had been seen in the Habit of a Priest, though Holy Orders had never been conferred upon him; that he had maintained in the Town of *Hildeberg*, the Capital City in the Palatinate, that there was a Quaternity in the Godhead; and that he had endeavour'd to unite the *Hussites* with the Schismatics in *Poland*.

Jerom of *Prague* defended himself from one Part of these Crimes, by assuring the Fathers that he had no Share in them; and from the other, by ascribing them to such Causes as were not black enough to take away his Life. But there was a second Charge against him, which was better prov'd, and more perplexing. This began with a Supposal, That if he should be sent back into *Bohemia* without sufficient Proof of his Conversion, he would cause much greater Disorders in the Church, than had been at other Times fomented by the *Arians*; for that his Doctrine concerning the Flesh and Blood of Christ would be sooner and more universally embraced than that of the Nature of the Word, which was purely Spiritual, and had no manner of Relation to the Senses: That in all the Parishes where the said *Jerom* had preached up his Errors, he had met with so much Success, that the Number of his Disciples was greater than that of the remaining Catholics; that he had in a tumultuary manner driven away the Pastors, and introduced into their Cures such of the Clergy as he had already perverted, and had commanded them to take upon themselves the whole Pastoral

Pastoral Care; without any other Commission than what they had received from him; that he had made a Journey into *England* upon no other Design than to transcribe a correct Copy of the Works of *Wickliff*; and that he had perswaded the Youth to read them, by telling them that there they would find true and solid Divinity; but that in other Books they would find little else than Deceit; that after the Execution of *John Hus*, he had rever'd him as a Saint, and had caused him to be painted with a Circle of Rays around his Head, and in the same Posture as the Catholick Church represents the Saints which had died in the fiery Pile; that he caused a Priest named *Fabry* to be scourged in an outrageous manner, insomuch that he died under the Lash; that he had freed himself from a *Franciscan* Friar, who had pressed him too close in the Heat of Dispute, by ordering his Disciples to cast him into the *Molde*, which they accordingly did; that he had taught that the Eucharist was no more than a Sign; that the Doctrine of *Wickliff* was the only and true Gospel; that he had promised an eternal Reward to those who should die in the Defence of it; that he had translated into Rhime the Words of Consecration, and the principal Articles of his Creed, to draw away Disciples after him; that he had attempted to overthrow the Government of the Church, in perswading the Laity that they might consecrate the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ; that he had taught them to despise Ecclesiastical Censures; that he had endeavoured to render Indulgences ridiculous; that he had not contented himself in saying, That the Ministry of the Word of God was inseparably annexed to Baptism, and by consequence common to all Christians, (in the Acts
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of the 20th *Session*;) but had also himself preached, though a meer Lay-Man, and had given a Commission to preach to the most adventurous of his Sect; that he had defended with an invincible Obstinacy all the Heresies contained in the forty five Articles of *Wickliff*; that he caused to be tied to the Breasts of lewd Women, and to be burnt publickly in the Market-Place of *New Prague*, Dispensations granted by the Holy See; that he had renewed the Heresie of the *Iconolasts*; and that within two Years before, being in a Church belonging to the *Franciscans*, he had caused a Crucifix to be covered over with Ordure, under Pretence that it was Idolatry to suffer Images to be there; and that the *Hussites* had been principally animated by such like Discourses to profane the Churches, and to dip their Hands in the Blood of their Fellow Countrymen who had opposed them.

The Prolocutor of the Council explained himself more largely in the Addition of Informations, which began with important Advice to the Fathers not to suffer themselves to be imposed upon by the Eloquence and vain Promises of the Criminal, who had already so often abused the Indulgence and Credulity of his Judges, lest that after he had escaped out of Prison, he should become a greater and more pernicious Enemy to Religion, than he had been before. For that, when he was a Student at *Paris*, having been accused of Believing and Maintaining in his Discourses, that God could not annihilate any of his Creatures; the Members of that University press'd him to make a Publick Recantation thereof; which having promised to do, the Night before the Day appointed for this Retraction, he betook himself to flight, and not daring to continue in *France*, he

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took his Journey to the Town of *Hildeberg*, where he presently made himself known by certain *Theses* fill'd with new Doctrines almost wholly Heretical, which he had the Assurance to present to the Syndic of that University ; but that Doctor, who had exactly perform'd the Duties of his Office, having communicated them to the other Doctors, and taken measures with them how to Arrest *Jerom of Prague*, he was inform'd thereof, and by a sudden retreat prevented the Imprisonment they had prepared for him : He chose for the third Place of his Residence the University of *Cracow*, where the Professors were not more favourable to him, since that they issu'd out a Warrant against him, which compell'd him to change the Air, and go to *Vienna*, where the Officers of the Archbishop seiz'd upon his Person, tho' he soon let them see by Experience how skilful he was in opening the Prison Doors : Besides all this, the plentiful Entertainments he requir'd in Prison, and the pleasure he took in Eating and Drinking more than what was necessary and decent, mark'd well that his Repentance was not sincere, from whence the Prolocutor concluded, that he ought to be reduc'd to Bread and Water, and if he did not retract in another manner, be put to the Torture.

The Council shewed no regard to his Conclusions, either because they look'd upon them as too severe, or that they thought Indulgence was to be used ; They only ordained, that *Jerom of Prague* should appear before a general Assembly on the last day of *April* 1416, to be there convicted. Accordingly he was brought before them, and the Witnesses having Face to Face persisted in their Accusation, the Patriarch of *Constantinople* press'd him sincerely to clear himself of Heresie.

§. 30. It

§. 30. It is impossible to know, whether a Conjunction of such Importance, the Criminal being ashamed again to retract his Opinion, or his fear of being Condemn'd, even tho' he should make a Disavowal thereof, cast him into Despair, and threw him into Obduracy and Impenitence ; but sure it is, that he made a publick Profession of the Articles of *Wickliffe* instead of condemning them ; that he satyrically reproached the Cardinals with their Luxury and Effeminency ; that he accused the Bishops and Doctors of *Germany* with Arrogance ; that he endeavour'd to revive the natural Antipathy, which was betwixt them and those of *Bohemia*, to the end that he might set them at Variance one with another ; that he boasted of being the principal Instrument of the Revolution which happened in the University of *Prague* ; that the dread of the Flames had before prevail'd with him to retract, and that now he was overjoy'd to expiate by the same Punishment the Fault he had fallen into ; in fine, he spoke as one transported with Rage and Passion, except that he declared himself to persevere in the Common Faith, as to the Eucharist.

The next thing therefore was to deliver him over to the secular Arm. Yet the Council defer'd that till the opening of the 25th Session, upon the 30th of *May*, at which time the Bishop of *Lody* made a long Reprimand to the Criminal, for that he had resolved more obstinately than ever to maintain the Errors of *Wickliffe* and *John Huss*, those only excepted which respected the Holy Sacrament and Indulgences, for which Reasons he was condemned and delivered over to the Punishment of the Magistrate ; who conducted him to the Pile, where he expired in repeating the Apostles Creed

Creed with a very intelligible Voice. There are some Authors, who relate that he Prophefied, that out of his Ashes would arise an hundred Years after his Death a Man, who should revive his Doctrine, and who should not be so imprudent as to throw himself into the Hands of his Enemies. This the same Authors have interpreted of *Luther*, from the number of Years and conformity of his Sentiments. But as the Accounts of his Death, which are given us both by the Council, and the Gentlemen of *Bohemia*, who were his Friends, are wholly silent in this Matter, we can't but look upon it as Falshood and Fable.

The End of the First Part.

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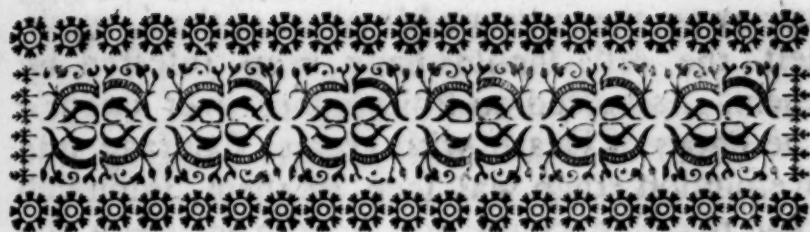
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Of *John Wickliffe*, *John Hus*,
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BOHEMIAN WARS

Which happened thereupon.

BOOK II.



O Attempt can be more dangerous, than that of endeavouring to preserve Religion by Force, which was originally establish'd by mild and gentle Methods. The Punishment of *John Hus* and

Jerom of Prague increas'd the Number of the *Hussites*: Tho' the Intention of the Council in

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taking off the Heads of that Party, was only to cut away the corrupt Members of the Church, lest the rest should have been infected by them. As indeed no Philosopher ever endur'd the Pangs of Death with greater Courage and Resolution, than was seen in them, insomuch that the Fire could not draw from them the least sign of Fear; and as the *Bobemian* Gentlemen, who had attended them, had heard them, even to the last Moments of their Life, sing forth the Praises of God, so they passed among the Disciples for true Martyrs of Christ: They took it upon them to gather up their Ashes, which when the Ministers of Justice would not allow of, for that they were commanded to cast them into the Lake of *Constance*, they heaped together a mass of the Dust, which lay round the Stakes, whereto they had been tied, and carried it along with them into *Bobemia* in the Form of Relicks.

The *Hussites* paid the same Honours to them as the *Germans* were wont to pay to the Remains of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, when they made a Pilgrimage to *Rome*; and they assembled themselves together to agree upon what Steps they should take now after the loss of their Two pretended Teachers.

§. 2. THE Result was, to have no deference for the Decisions of the Council; to name Persons, who should draw up a Confession of Faith, taken Word for Word out of the Writings of *John Hus* and *Jerom of Prague*, to separate themselves entirely from the Communion of the Catholicks; and to put themselves into a condition of obtaining by force of Arms the free Exercise of their new Religion. The sub-
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stance of the Form of Confession consisted in these Propositions, That the Pope had no more Authority than other Bishops; That all Priests were equal in Jurisdiction as in Power, and that the only difference betwixt them was owing to the personal Merit and the Probity of their Manners; That from the Moment the Soul was dis-united from the Body it became Happy or Unhappy to all Eternity, and that consequently Purgatory was an invention of Man; That Prayers for the Dead were Priest-craft, design'd but to satisfy the Avarice of Priests; That the Images of God and the Saints ought to be taken away, and the blessing of Water and Palmes rejected; That the Orders of *Mendicants* were so many Works of the Devil, and that Priests ought to live upon Alms alone; That all Persons, who were well instructed in the Truths of the Gospel, had a Right to Preach the Word of God without any additional Character, or other Mission, than that of Charity towards their Neighbour; That it was wicked for a Man to countenance in himself or another Person, the Commission of any deadly Sin, tho' it were to avoid a greater Ill, and that whoever had in that sort offended, was thereby deprived of all Authority, Civil and Ecclesiastical, unless he could prevail with his Subjects afterwards to obey him; That Confirmation, as it was in Use in the Church, and Extreme-Union were no true Sacraments; That private Confession was ridiculous, for that God requir'd only, that Men should from the bottom of their Hearts ask Pardon of him, in order to the Remission of such Sins, as were not subject to publick Penance; that the holy Oyl ought not to be added to the Water in the Sacrament of Baptism; That the

Covetousness of the Clergy had brought in the use of Church-yards, for that it was of no importance where the Bones of Christians were deposited till the Resurrection; That the World was the only Temple befitting the Immensity of God, and that it was to lock up the Sovereign Majesty of Heaven in too narrow a compass, to build for him Churches and Oratories, with design to render him more favourable to their Prayers who called upon him in those Places; That the Habit of the Clergy and dress of the Altar were useless Ornaments; That a Priest might, at all times and in all places, pronounce the Sacramental Words, and distribute to the Faithful the Body of Jesus Christ; That it was in vain to desire the Prayers of the Saints, for that they were fruitless; That it was but lost Time to chant in Publick, and particularly to recite the Canonical Hours; That on *Sunday* alone we ought to rest from our ordinary Labours, and that the Fasts appointed by the Church were of no worth; That the Clergy had principally taken away the Communion under Two Kinds, to distinguish themselves the more from the Laity, and that yet it was necessary to Salvation.

§. 3. AFTER this Form of Confession had been sign'd, the *Hussites* levied an Army of Thirty Thousand Men, cast off their dependance upon the Emperor *Sigismund*, and re-establish'd in the supreme Authority his eldest Brother the deposed *Winceslaus*, imagining that he would allow them to live after their own way. And indeed that voluptuous Prince did comply with them whilst they were content with the Communion under Two Kinds, and with carrying through the

the Streets every Day the Holy Sacrament in Proceſſion. But when they began to pull down Churches, and to divide among themſelves the Wealth they robbed them of, *Winceſlaus* did then endeavour to procure a Remedy for theſe Ills agreeable to the Laws of his Country. He commanded them to appear before the Magiſtrate of *Prague* to give an Account of the Diſorders they had committed; But thoſe impudent Men, inſtead of obeying this Summons, riotouſly propos'd in their Aſſembly a ſecond time to dethrone *Winceſlaus*, and to elect, in his ſtead, a Gentleman of *Bohemia* who was attach'd to their own Party.

They made yet a Step higher, and as Rebellion ordinarily degenerates into Parricide, after that it hath paſſed from Contempt into Affronts, one of the Company, who pretended to have more Wit than the reſt, becauſe his Malice was the more ſharp, repreſented to them, that they ought in Prudence to diſpatch *Winceſlaus*, before they provided him with a Succeſſor; for, altho' he was the vileſt of Men, yet the Houſe, from whence he was deſcended, and the Merit of his Anceſtors, would at all times draw ſo vaſt a Number of Soldiers from all the Northern Countries, that the Government of him whom they ſhould elect, would never be ſafe.

He had not fail'd to have ſtirred up certain Affaſſins, who immediately marched in an armed Body againſt the Caſtle of *Bouchinque*, where *Winceſlaus* diverted himſelf, to have dipp'd their Hands in his Royal Blood, if a Prieſt nam'd *Coranda* had not diſſwaded them from it, by a Diſcourſe ſo much the more artificial, as it was the leſs remov'd from their own Sentiments.

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He told them that, all things consider'd, their King ought not to be changed for another, and that no better Fortune could arrive to the People of *Bobemia*, than to depend upon a Sovereign of his Temper; that the Touch-stone, whereby to determine whether the King was fit for his Subjects, was to observe, whether he gave them leave to live after their own way; and in that respect (he said) they never had one before like *Winceslaus*; that indeed he had not receiv'd sufficient Insight into matters of Religion, but yet it was but just, that he should live after his own manner, since he had neither oppos'd the Preaching of the new Doctrine, nor the Instruction of the People; and that they should be so far from oppressing him, that they ought rather to protect him against the Insults of the Catholics, in case they should ever enter upon any Attempt to dethrone him, since that the Safety of the *Hussites* was placed in his Incapacity to reign. This ridiculous Reasoning, which could not have been supported unless by the Eloquence of *Coranda*, suspended the Zeal of the most enrag'd, or rather turn'd their Fury upon a beautiful Monastery of *Dominicans*, which lay out of the Town of *Prague*, and this they rased to the Ground.

Winceslaus, advertis'd of the danger he had escap'd, endeavour'd no otherwise to remedy it, than by a profuse Requital of his Deliverer, and by granting to the *Hussites* greater Liberty than they had ever yet enjoy'd, that is, he himself met the Death he had thought to have run away from. For his Connivance so mightily encreas'd the Number of the *Hussites*, that two thirds of *Bobemia* declared for them; and the Churches, which they had at first usurp'd, not being sufficient

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ficient to contain them, they imagin'd themselves strong enough to use Violence; and out of a prospect of amending their former Enterprize, they deputed the most seditious of their Party to represent to *Winceslaus*, that seeing the *Hussites* made up the greater Number of his Subjects, it was but reasonable in him to allow them more than one half of the Churches. He who carried that Address was the Lord of *Hus*, the Town which was fam'd for having given his Name and Birth to the Author of this Sect.

Winceslaus had the Courage and Presence of Mind to dissemble the uneasiness, which this Harangue of the Lord of *Hus* stir'd up in him; he return'd him Answer in civil Terms, and bad him appear before him on the Morrow at the same Hour to receive his Orders: And by that Artifice oblig'd him to dismiss his numerous Attendants, and carry alone with him. But *Winceslaus*, being now past Fear, broke out into this blunt Expression. *You have given me (says he) a Thread to twist, but it shall make a Cord for your Neck.* The Lord of *Hus* made no Answer to that indiscreet Menace; but he was no sooner out of the King's Palace, than he demanded the Protection of the *Hussites*, and *Winceslaus*, not doubting in the least but that he would come back better accompanied than before, dar'd not to wait his coming, but retir'd into a new Castle, which he had caused to be built about half a League from *Prague*, thinking to be there secure. He from thence wrote to the Magistrate not to permit the *Hussites* at every turn to carry the Holy Sacrament through the Streets, for that such Processions serv'd only to gain over the People to them by their Novelty, and to promote Seditions; he dispatch'd at the same time a Courier

rier to the Emperor *Sigismund* his Brother, to demand of him a speedy Succour, in case he was willing to preserve to the House of *Luxemburgh* the Crown of *Bobemia*. But the *Hussites* would not allow him Time to wait for Succours; for they assembled themselves in a Monastery of *Dominicans*, (which they had made themselves Masters of by means of an Apostate Monk of the Order of *St. Austin*) took Arms, and causing the Eucharist under both Kinds to be carried before them, they went immediately to the Church of *St. Stephen* and plunder'd the House of a certain Priest, who was not of their Cabal, that stood by it. They then turn'd their Fury upon the Town-house, where they found only Seven Magistrates out of Eighteen who ought to have been there, the other Eleven having fled. These they threw out of the Window upon the Points of the Swords, Spears, Halberds and Spits of the Seditious who stood below. The Judge and the chief of the Citizens, who had retired thither in the beginning of the Tumult as to a Sanctuary, were no better treated, at the instigation of those Wretches, to whom the Holy Sacrament, which was instituted as the strictest Bond of Union betwixt God and Men in this Life, serv'd only to animate them to butcher their Fellow-creatures.

The Constable of the Kingdom being inform'd, that after the ravaging the Town-house, they had a design upon his Palace, departs thence with Three Hundred Horse, and marches against the Rioters in this Thought, that his Presence would suffice to calm the Disorder; but the *Hussites* had so little Respect for his Person, and so great Contempt of the small Number of Troops he brought along with him, that

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that they had almost finish'd their Attempt to environ him, in order to have killed all his Company, without leaving one remaining; but he prudently thought of making a Retreat to the Castle, where *Wincestaus* had betaken himself for Refuge.

That Prince being perswaded that they would not have extirpated the Magistracy, if his escape had not taken from them the means of discharging their Rage upon his sacred Person, loaded them with the heaviest Reproaches: His Domesticks followed his Example and one of them, to whom *Wincestaus* shewed the most Favour, tho' he was Butler only, pretended that he knew that to be the design of the *Hussites*, but did not reveal it.

'Tis uncertain, whether what he said was true, or whether he sought to make himself considerable by a Lye; but this is sure, that instead of receiving the Applauses of *Wincestaus* for this News, he the more provoked his Passion: In-somuch that the stupidly enraged Prince fell immediately from his Melancholy into a Frenzy; He threw the Butler upon the Ground, and held a Poignard over him, with design to have struck it into his Breast, if those who were present had not forc'd it out of his Hand. This disappointment of his Rage threw him into so horrible a Convulsion, that he straightway lost the use of his Limbs, and died within Eighteen Days after of a Palsie. His Body was inter'd in a Monastery adjoyning to the King's Palace, the most beautiful in all *Bohemia*, and which was set apart for the burying-place of the Kings. But the *Hussites* soon violated the Respect they ow'd to the Sepulchre of their Sovereign, to satiate upon his Ashes their vain desire of Parricide,

ricide, which they had not been able to commit against his Person: They were not content with taking them from thence, and depositing them in a filthy Place, where they lay till such time as a poor Fisherman remov'd them, and sold them to the Emperor *Sigismund* for twenty Pieces of Gold; their Revenge had no other Bounds than their Power and Opportunity to do Ill. They rased the Monastery to the Ground, out of the sole Consideration, that *Winceslaus* had been there buried. They spared not the Church, than the Structure of which nothing could be more admirably fine; nor the Sleeping-room, which was capable of containing eight hundred Monks; nor the Yard, in which was a numerous Provision of the Necessaries of Life; nor the Cloister, which was so large, as to contain within its Circumference a very great Garden, and so high, that the whole Sacred Scriptures had been wrote upon the Walls of it, in a legible Hand-writing, the Letters encreasing in bigness in proportion to their distance from the Eye.

The Ruin of this House was but an experimental Essay made by the *Hussites*, and a bait, which drew down Destruction upon all the other Monasteries of the Kingdom: As indeed no Country throughout all *Europe* had its Churches more richly and magnificently adorn'd than *Bohemia*, so the hopes of finding there Gold and Silver, enough to defray the Expences of the War, allur'd the most seditious, who entirely subverted them to free themselves from ever making Restitution of the Spoils, they had taken thence, in case of a Defeat.

§. 4. AFTER having prepared Strength for the War by so many sacrilegious Acts, they did not long deliberate concerning the choice of a General, Divine Providence permitting them to cast their Eyes upon *John Zisca* the greatest and most successful Commander of his Age; he was a Gentleman of *Bohemia*, born in the Town of *Theſnox*, of so small an Estate, that he was oft oblig'd to have recourse to the Houses of the neighbouring Nobility for Suster-nance: He was brought up Page to *Winceslaus*, and the Contempt of a Prince so unfit to bear the Reins of the Government, caused him to remove from the Court into the Army, where he soon gain'd a Reputation amongst both the Brave and Judicious, tho' the impossibility of raising himself at the first to an higher Post had made him list into a Company of Foot; he was of a good Mien, but had lost his left Eye in Battle. He was advanced in Years, and yet capable of discharging all military Functions.

A Rape committed upon his Sister by a Monk had inspir'd him with an irreconcilable hatred to all religious Orders; and the Expression he had drop'd of revenging himself upon the first occasion, oblig'd him to appear among the foremost of the *Hussites* in their solemn observation of the Anniversary of their two Martyrs, *John Hus* and *Ferom* of *Prague*. They appear'd almost all ready arm'd, and the Emperor *Sigismund*, who was then at *Prague*, thinking to intimidate them, commanded them to appear before him in the Posture they then were: The greater part of the *Hussites* advis'd a Separation and Flight; but *Zisca* remonstrated to them that by an Action so unmanly they would fall into the Precipice, they thought to avoid,

for that they would be infallibly ruin'd one after another, if as Fugitives they should return every one to his own House; whereas, if they went immediately to the Emperor, they might strike into him somewhat of Fear. His Advice was follow'd, and himself was the Person employ'd to address the Prince, of which Charge he acquitted himself in a wonderful and gallant manner. He told him, that the *Hussites* having assembled themselves in Arms, according to the Privilege of the Country, to defend themselves against their Enemies, had receiv'd the Orders of his Imperial Majesty; and imagining, that his Design was to send them out to Battle, they thought it their Duty to present themselves thus armed before him.

The Artifice succeeded, and the Emperor not daring either to punish or threaten them, whom he saw by much too strong for him, treated them very civilly, and return'd back answer, that he was glad to see them in that Habit, and desir'd that they would again appear in the same Dress, when he next sent for them. He chose these last Words to serve him for an Excuse: But *Zisca* gave a quite different Interpretation to them, and hinted to the *Hussites*, that this was a favourable Conjunction of putting themselves into a Condition of obtaining the free Exercise of their Religion, and that it was only to make Provision of Arms and Soldiers under the pretext of obeying the Emperor, to compel that unarmed Prince to grant them whatever they desired. He rendezvous'd his Troops upon the 16th Day of April 1418, in a Monastery of *Cartustians* near to *Prague*, of which he had made himself Master, and he sav'd the Lives of the Monks whom he found there,
upon

upon condition, that they should immediately depart *Bohemia*, under pretext that they were useless, and fatten'd themselves in their Cloyster like so many Swine. He excepted against the Election of the Emperor *Sigismund* to the Crown of *Bohemia*, as a Grievance, tho' it had been made in Form, and pretended that that Prince's conniving at the Punishment of *John Hus* and *Jerom* of *Prague*, which he had never took upon him to prevent, had render'd him entirely unworthy of it. He caused himself to be made General of the War with him, and dividing his Troops into two Bodies, he led the one against the Fortress of *Vissgrade*, of which he made himself Master, and sent the other, under the Command of the same *Coranda*, who had saved the Life of *Winceslaus*, against the Town of *Poffin*, where the Citizens were divided, and he finding it without a Garrison, forced them to capitulate upon the first Summons.

The Dowager Queen of *Winceslaus*, a Princess of the House of *Bavaria*, abode in *Bohemia* after the Death of her Husband, at the Entreaty of the Emperor. She was named *Sophia*, and contrary to the Nature of Women, who seldom love the Relations of their deceased Husbands when they have no Children, her reigning Passion was for the House of *Luxemburgh*, to which she had allied herself; her Care to preserve the Crown of *Bohemia* in that Family, and her Fear of blotting her own Reputation, if the *Hussites* should usurp the Throne during her Administration, caused her to pass whole Days and Nights, at least the greatest Part of them, in a continued watch upon the Conduct of *Zisca*: She at every turn press'd her nearest Relations for Succours, and at the same time dispatch'd

Courier

Courier after Courier to the Emperor, who was then in Hungary, to hasten his return into *Bohemia*; she represented to him how absolutely necessary his Presence was to prevent a War; and that if he did not stifle this Heresy in its Birth, it would be too late to attempt it, after that it had aggrandiz'd it self by Arms.

The Emperor found himself at that time in so favourable Circumstances, that he could not have desir'd better, tho' he had been the most ambitious Prince in *Europe*. The States of *Bohemia* had elected him, according to their Custom of preferring the Male-Heirs of the Royal Family to Strangers, when they thought them capable of reigning. His Election could in no wise be disputed, for tho' the *Hussites* had refus'd him their Voices, yet as they were mostly of the meaner sort of People, they had been easily overborn by the Body of the Clergy, the Nobility, and the Chief of the Citizens, who had declared for the Emperor. In short, so prosperous was the Fortune of his Imperial Majesty, that tho' he had not been elected to the Crown of *Bohemia*, he was in a Condition to have gained it by Conquest; for his Subjects of *Hungary*, and the Princes of *Germany*, had conspired to levy for him a formidable Army, that had given a demonstration of their Abilities to fight, in their Actions with the *Turks*, who had made an Attack upon the important City of *Belgrade*.

In the mean time, whether it was that the *Infidels* had a mind only to give a false Alarm to the *Christians*, or that the Spies whom they had allur'd within the Town, had inform'd them how well it was fortify'd, yet they had so absolutely abandon'd their Enterprize, that their Forces were upon the March, and had already

made

made more than half their way thro' *Europe* into *Asia*. But that last Consideration, which more than all others seem'd to invite the Emperor to pass into *Bohemia*, was the very Reason, which deter'd him from it. He imagin'd, that the *Ottoman Army* being far remov'd from *Hungary*, he might easily recover *Bulgaria*, before that it could return into his Country; and upon that vain supposition, he unhappily engag'd in an Attempt, which lost him *Bohemia*, and drew an enrag'd People into *Hungary*, who laid waste the greatest part thereof.

§. 5. *Zisca* having no other Troops before his Eyes, but those which the Queen Dowager had in a hurry assembled, under the Command of *Cinque* a German Officer, caused to rise all those of his Sect, who had diffus'd themselves throughout *Bohemia*, and the three neighbouring Provinces, *Silesia*, *Lusania*, and *Moravia*. He sollicitated the Citizens of the principal Towns to join him, many of whom he gain'd over by chimerical Promises, and others he scar'd by Menaces, which were follow'd by their Effects; and placing as well as the Catholics his chief hope in securing to himself the Capital City of the Kingdom, he approach'd it with his Troops, which were considerable only for their Numbers. His Design was rather to discipline them, than to surprize *Prague*; and he found, that *Cinque* had prevented him in making himself Master of the Castle, and the two Parts of the Town, which were called *High* and *Low Prague*; but he could not drive the *Hussites* from the third Part, named *New Prague*, where they prevail'd, which oblig'd him to fortify the Bridge over the

the River *Molde*, that separated it from the two others.

He pretended by that means to hinder the Enemy from coming over to him, and yet to preserve for himself a Passage whereby to go over to them. But he deceiv'd himself in that Conjecture, for the first Efforts of *Zisca* against the Bridge were so violent, that he took Possession of it, tho' the Catholicks fought with such Heat, as the Chief of the opposite Party could not but commend. The *Hussites* pursued their Victory with a Resolution that was never parallel'd in History, they made a constant Attack upon *Low Prague* for five successive Days and Nights without ceasing, tho' at every Assault they were repuls'd. And then *Zisca* seeing that he lost the bravest of his Soldiers, put an end to the Battle, and departed from *New Prague*, with design to cut in pieces *Peter de Staremburg*, who brought fresh Forces out of *Germany* to the Queen Dowager.

He offer'd him Battle, which *Staremburg* accepted of, the Victory inclin'd neither to the one side nor the other, tho' both laid claim to it.

The Emperor, who had before been strong enough in *Hungary*, judg'd by the resolute Behaviour of the *Hussites*, that it would not be so easy a matter to cut them off, as he had imagin'd, and perceiv'd that the Queen Dowager had given him salutary Advice, when she counsel'd him in his own Person to put a stop to those Troubles: However, he would by no means return into his own Country, lest the *Turks* should attribute his Counter-march to Cowardise. But as the Queen had conjur'd him to discharge her from the Administration of the Government, of which, by reason of her Sex, she

He was not capable, he deputed the most able and moderate of his Council to take upon themselves the Management of Affairs in *Bohemia* during his Absence, and at least to hinder the Progress of the *Hussites*, if they could not bring them to an Accommodation, and to acknowledge him for their Sovereign, for which transactions they had receiv'd of him a Plenitude of Power.

§. 6. THE chief Person in that Deputation was *Gaspar Seligue*, a Man who bore the Character of the greatest Minister of his Age. His Father was a Gentleman of *Francony*, his Mother a Lady of *Trevise*, and by a good Fortune, which you shall scarce ever hear of, in his Person were re-united all the *German* Virtues of his Father, and the *Italian* Graces of his Mother, without any Allay of the Vices of either Nation. He possess'd an inexhaustible Stock of Learning, his Eloquence was such, that no one could speak better in publick or in private, and he was of so flexible a Disposition, that by a Privilege which Fortune never granted to any other, he became the Chancellor, Minister and Favourite of three succeeding Emperors of quite different Inclinations. He had no sooner enter'd into the Possession of the Government of *Bohemia*, which the Queen Dowager had thrown up into his hands, than he saw that Violence would serve only to make the Party of the *Hussites* more formidable, by giving them a pretext of strengthening themselves; and as it was of the greatest importance to prevent that, he had recourse to Artifice.

He held a separate Conference with the most reputable Magistrate of *New Prague*, and let him

understand, that his Brethren of the new Religion follow'd ill Counsel, by seeking to obtain by Arms that Liberty of Conscience, which they might enjoy by a Negotiation. The Magistrate overjoy'd with this Proposal, acquaints his Brethren with it, and prevails with them to accept of it, thro' fear that if the War continued, *New Prague* would be entirely plunder'd by the Mountaineers, whom *Zisca* would be oblig'd to pour in for its Defence. They therefore agreed with *Selique* for a Truce of six Months, than which nothing could be of more Advantage to the Emperor; for out of a vain Hope, that they should be allow'd to communicate under both Kinds, and for the leave which they of *New Prague* had, to send the most considerable Citizens of their Body into *Hungary*, to negotiate for Liberty of Conscience, they deliver'd up to *Selique* their Fortress of *Vissegrade*, and compell'd *Zisca* to put into his Hands *Possin*, *Piste*, and other Places, which they had taken, *i. e.* by this means the *Hussites* depriv'd themselves of all those fortify'd Towns, which made them formidable.

§. 7. *Selique*, after having driven away from *Prague* the new Inhabitants, who had been drawn thither by the War, and re-established the eighteen Magistrates in their former Authority, had long enjoy'd the Fruits of his Conduct, and made the Orders of his absent Sovereign respected; if that Prince had not himself ruin'd his own good Fortune by an unseasonable Letter. For instead of keeping the *Hussites* in the peaceable Disposition *Selique* had brought them to, or of dissembling his Design to extirpate them, when he had disengag'd himself from the
Affair

Affair of *Bulgaria*; he wrote to *Selique*, that his Intention was to reduce the Affairs of *Bohemia* to the same estate they were in under the Emperor *Charles IV.* his Father. Some Authors tell us, that this Letter, which was not writ in Cyphers, was intercepted by the *Hussites*, or, as others say, it accidentally fell into their hands. They gave it its true Interpretation, and concluded, that the Emperor's Intention was to destroy them utterly, and not (as they imagin'd) to grant them the free Exercise of their Religion, since that he spoke of bringing back the Church to that condition it was in, when *John Hus* had not yet begun to preach to the People the Doctrine of Truth.

But it was now no easy matter again to take up Arms, for besides that *Zisca* was in possession of no strong Places, and that *Selique* had placed Garrisons in those, which they had given up to him, so that they could not be surpriz'd, the Expedition of the Emperor in *Bulgaria* was swifter than could have been expected. That Prince had drawn into *Hungary* the principal Forces of *Germany*, under pretence of hindering the Turks from usurping that Kingdom: But when his Army found no Enemy to fight with, they pretended they were trick'd, and disbanded themselves in such manner, that there remain'd no other of them, than those who were particularly attach'd to his Imperial Majesty. He, with them, retook the way into *Bohemia*, and arriv'd at the Town of *Brin* in *Moravia*, before the *Hussites* knew that he had quitted *Belgrade*. His Presence was of more weight than can well be imagin'd, in that on the one side the People of *Bohemia* were fill'd with such consternation, that they seem'd to

have lost all Spirit and Motion ; and on the other, the whole Nobility went out to meet their King, and the Citizens of the chief Towns deputed others to do obeisance to him. Those of *New Prague* dar'd not upon so remarkable an occasion to separate themselves from the *High* and *Low Prague* : So that their Deputies accompanied the others, and receiv'd a Confirmation of their Privileges, on condition that the Magistrates elected during the late Disturbance should be depos'd, and that his Imperial Majesty should that time alone nominate others, in consideration of his joyful Accession to the Crown of *Bohemia*.

That Condition was the more willingly accepted by *New Prague*, for that the other Towns, to testify their respect for their Sovereign, had press'd him to behave himself in like sort towards them ; and the Emperor had entirely rooted up the Seeds of that Heresy by his Entry into *New Prague*, if he had gone into it the right way ; but upon the Day design'd for that Entry, an unforeseen Information made him to alter his Measures. A Courier brought him Letters from *Silesia*, with advice, that his Presence was so absolutely necessary in that Province, that no other thing could calm the Minds of the Revolters, for that the Citizens of *Breslau*, the Capital City in the Kingdom, grown weary of supporting the Intemperance of the Magistrates, whom the deceas'd King had commission'd, had made an Insurrection upon them and slain them.

The Emperor bore that Injury, which was done to the Memory of his Brother, with more Impatience, than if it had been offer'd to himself. He imagin'd, that unless he openly punish'd

punish'd so publick an Affront, he should meet with the like Contempt in *Bobemia*, (for the Orders of that Kingdom were all sign'd by the defunct King,) and upon this false supposition, he made all the haste he could into *Silesia*. The Citizens of *Breslaw*, who had so barbarously murder'd their Magistrates, upon Examination of the Matter in cold Blood, repented of what they had done; and as on the one hand, that City was unable to bear a Siege, and on the other, the Authors of the Riot were not so considerable, but that the City would rather deliver them up to the Vengeance of the Emperor, than bring upon themselves the Inconveniencies of a War, they chose to admit the Imperial Army to enter within the Walls, who did not only make publick Examples of the Mutineers, but impos'd a great Sum of Money upon the Inhabitants, in regard of the trouble had been given them in their Journey to them, which was indeed to defray the Charges of their March.

The Emperor would of his own accord have prevented this Exaction, if he had been Master of his Troops; but not paying them himself, he could not make them live under exact Discipline: the Excesses they committed in *Breslau* appear'd so much the more astonishing, as that military form of Execution was new in *Germany*.

Upon the first Information, the *Hussites* receiv'd of these Transactions, they became apprehensive of the same Fate, as had fallen upon the Citizens of *Breslau*, and began to put themselves into a condition of opposing the Imperialists: They offer'd to *Cinque*, the Governor of the Castle of *Prague*, such advantageous Terms, that

that he immediately deliver'd it up to them, and lifted himself under their Colours: And being now assur'd, that the Imperialists could not enter into *New Prague*, they threw off the Mask, rendezvous'd their Troops at the foot of the Walls, and during the time of their General Meeting publish'd a Manifesto against the Emperor, with design to shew, that that Prince had not been lawfully elected to the Crown of *Bohemia*, for four Reasons; the first whereof was, that he had been so ill brought up in his Youth, that he had never learnt the Sclavonick Tongue, so necessary to understand and talk the Bohemian Language, which was but a different Dialect of that: The second, that he had mortgag'd *Prussia*, without the Consent of the Estates, to the High-Steward of *Germany*, who would no more hold it of that Crown: The third, that he had never ask'd the Consent of the same Estates, in making over the Frontiers *Brandenburgh*: And the last, that he had not only conniv'd at, but had himself contributed to, the Execution of *John Hus* and *Jerom* of *Prague*.

The Catholicks and the Imperialists were more irritated than surpriz'd at this Manifesto: They betook themselves to their Horses, that they might suppress the *Hussites*, whilst their Numbers were few: And *Zisca* perceiving their Approach, and not daring to encounter them in the open Plain, because that having no Horse he could not fail of being defeated there, he retired into the Mountains of *Bohemia*, and faced the Enemy in so narrow and rugged ground, that their Horse became of no use to them. The Catholicks, who were not skill'd in the situation or inequality of Places, press'd
close

close upon their heels, supposing that they would no-where tarry till their coming up, and that it was enough to pursue them with the Body of the Army to dissipate the Peasants, who accompany'd *Zisca*, and to drive them quite out of the Kingdom.

§. 8. THEY were so confirm'd in that false Opinion, that instead of wondering that the Enemy lost no ground, they rejoyced exceedingly, in that they were now freed from the fear of letting those Rebel-Slaves escape their Vengeance. But *Zisca*, after having thus drawn them into a Snare, invented such a Stratagem, as was never before practis'd by any Mortal, to bring upon the Catholicks so absolute a Defeat, that not one of them should be left remaining. As soon as he saw them entangled in the Mountains, he dispatch'd a Party of the most resolute of the *Hussites*, to take possession of the Pass, whereby they had enter'd; and having thus barr'd the way to their return, he commanded the Women, who follow'd the *Hussite* Army, to spread upon the Field of Battle all the Linnen Garments plaited together, with which they were clad after the manner of the Country. Shame did in no wise hinder the Women from executing *Zisca's* Orders, tho' they could not penetrate into the design of them; and the Catholicks were so over-joy'd to see the Enemy stand still, that they immediately alighted from off their Horses to attack them, the Place not permitting them to fight otherwise than on foot. But they took no care to knock off their Spurs, and from thence sprang their great Overthrow; for they being large and long,
and

and fasten'd to their Boots, and by consequence incommoding, they in such sort caught hold of the Shifts and Pinner's that lay under their feet, that they were in no wise able to move, either to attack the Enemy, or defend themselves; the more they endeavour'd to be disengag'd, the more they were entangled, at every moment they fell down, and could not recover themselves from their Fall; and the *Hussites* coming upon them in that condition, jested upon 'em, whilst they gave 'em their Death's Wound, and reproach'd them with thus suffering themselves to be slain without giving any marks of their Courage. Thus was the whole Cavalry of the Catholicks defeated upon the 19th day of *August* in the year 1419, and the Infantry, intimidated thereby, took to their heels, without waiting for the Blow. The most swift came first to the Entry of the Pass, and so out-strip'd the less nimble in dying; for the *Hussites*, who had seiz'd upon the Place, seeing them run with Precipitation and Disorder, slew them as fast as they approach'd; and what increas'd the Misfortune was, that the Stratagem, which *Selique* had made use of to drive the *Hussites* out of the Towns they had taken by surprize, became now hurtful to the Catholicks, for the Conquerors having thereby no strong Holds, wherein to put the Prisoners with security, gave quarter to no one of them. *Zisca* suffer'd not himself to be dazled with the Advantages he had gain'd by a Victory so intire and easy, but strove to reap the Fruits of it by an incredible diligence. Upon *Shrove-Tuesday*, in the year 1420, he by night appear'd before the Walls of *Mosca*, from whence the Lords of the Town had forced away the Inhabitants,

habitants, because they were *Hussites*. These were two Brothers of a very antient Family, the Name of the eldest was *Copée*, and of the younger *Ulric*; *Copée*, with the most part of the Garrison, had his Throat cut, whilst buried in a deep Sleep, into which he had fallen after the Feast wherewith he had treated his Friends. But *Ulric*, who had mounted his Horse upon the first Noise which was made by the *Hussites* in their Descent by their Ladders into the Town, had leisure to quit the place, and refuge himself in the Castle of *Lic*. But as that was not strongly fortify'd, *Zisca* arriv'd there almost as soon as the Catholics, and discontinu'd not the Assault, till he had taken the Castle by Storm. All the Persons, that were therein, fell by the Edge of the Sword, and *Zisca*, when he had slain *Ulric*, abandon'd his Family to the Rage of the *Hussites*, who by a Cruelty unknown in the North, promis'd Life to such Servants as would in their Presence cut the Throats of the Wife and Children of their Masters, and accordingly they perform'd their Promise.

This Progress of *Zisca's* Arms brought over a great Number of Foot to his Party; but the Horses, which were taken in the Battle of *Polzein* not sufficing for the better part of his Soldiers, a second Stratagem abundantly supply'd them with what was wanting.

§. 9. THE Emperor, upon the first News of the Defeat of his Troops, had sent into *Bohemia*, a Body of ten thousand Horse, the choice Men throughout his Army, to hinder the Conquerors from extending their Victories farther than *Mosca*. These Horsemen were commanded by a Man of Fortune named *Nicolas*, who from

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being Master of the Mint at *Prague*, had been advanc'd to the Generalship of Armies; he led on his Forces as far as *Vogisa*, where he promis'd himself to put a stop to the Incursions of the *Hussites*: When on the Eve of Holy Thursday or Friday in the Year 1420, at the time, that most of the Catholick Soldiers were, according to the Custom of the Country, at their Prayers, *Zisca* took the City by surprize, and with so much Precipitation, that it was with difficulty that the General *Nicolas* saved himself in the Castle: All the Horsemen were slain and deliver'd up to the *Hussites*, who having no Artillery busied not themselves in besieging the Castle, but were contented with setting Fire to the Town and safely carrying off the Booty into their Camp. *Zisca* distributed the Horses to those, whom he had a mind to set as Riders upon them, and himself serv'd as a Riding-master to them. He taught them so perfectly how to manage them, and to fight steadily upon them, that of plain Country Peasants, as they were, they became under him the best disciplin'd Horsemen in *Europe*; and indeed, it was by their means, that he came off Victorious in so many Battles afterward.

§. 10. WHEN *Zisca* had thus, after the example of *Philip* of *Macedon*, begun his vast Projects, by training up an Army capable of putting them in Execution, he continu'd them by the building of a Town, which might serve for a Retreat to his Party in case of Necessity. For altho' he was well assur'd of the Faithfulness of *New Prague* to him, and of the Citadel, which commanded it, yet was he not so sure of the two other Parts of that great Town. And

as he expected to have in a short Time the whole Forces of the Empire pour'd in upon him, it would have been Presumption in that case for him, who was inferior in his Numbers, to have placed himself within the reach of the Cannon of the Capital City in *Bobemia*, whereof he held but one third part. That Consideration made him seek throughout the Kingdom for a Place the most advantageous, wherein to build a great and a strong City; and for that end he chose a Mountain almost in the form of an Island, encompass'd on the one Side by the River *Luminisque*, and on the other by the Waters of a rapid Torrent, except the breadth of about thirty Foot, which was enclosed with a flat-bottom'd Ditch, and a triple Wall, whose prodigious Breadth and Height made it proof against all Attacks. He encompass'd it round with all the other Fortifications, that were then in use, and added thereto so many others of his own invention, as serv'd afterwards for a Model to those, which were built in the most regular manner. To this he gave the Name of *Tabor*, whether it was, that he thought it to bear some resemblance in its Situation to that Mountain in the Holy-land, which was called by the same Name, or that to gain the more Credit to the Party of *Hussites*, he would have perswaded the World, that they had seen there Jesus Christ transfigured, in like manner as he had afore-time been seen by St. Peter, James and John, upon *Tabor*, and that the Saviour of Mankind had there taught all the Doctrine contained in the Books of *John Hus* and *Ferom of Prague*, as so many Truths of Christianity.

§. 11. The Imperial Army was not yet come up, and *Zisca* to keep his in Exercise headed them against a novel Sect of Hereticks, who had seiz'd upon an Island formed by the River *Luminisque* at the distance of about seven Leagues from *Tabor*. They lived under the direction of a *Dutch-man*, named *Pitcard*, who being well skill'd in Tricks and Artificers, put them off for so many Miracles, and made his Followers believe, that he was the Son of God, and that his Father had sent him as a new *Adam* to teach the Law of Nature in the World. He added that that Law consisted chiefly in two things, in the enjoyment of all Women in common, and in the nakedness of the Body, those Parts especially, which Modesty allows us not to name.

They us'd no other Formalities among them, when they were about to lie together, than that the Lover took Madam by the Hand, and led her to the Tent of *Pitcard*, who sent them back with those Words in *Genesis*, *Increase and multiply, and replenish the Earth*. But God permitted not so infamous an Heresy to extend it self beyond its Cradle. *Zisca* stifled it in one dark Night, which hinder'd him not from passing the River in portable Vessels: They killed all the Men, and preserved those Women alone alive, who were big with Child; and who yet would not after their Lying-in renounce the Libertinism of their Sect, and were therefore condemned to the Flames, into which they cast themselves laughing.

The Emperor tarried not so much in *Silesia* to wait for the German Troops, which the Duke of *Austria* his Son-in-law, and the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh* had promis'd him, as to
amuse

amuse *Zisca* during a Negotiation, which would take from him the Citadel of *Prague* by the same Stratagem, wherewith he had made himself Master of it. We have already observ'd, that the treacherous *Cinque* had sold it to the *Hussites* for a Sum of Money, and that that deceitful Man, from the time he had engag'd himself amongst them, had so far insinuated himself into their good Graces, that they had forced *Zisca* by their importunities to make him Governor of that Castle. This was the sole fault committed by that great Commander, which sprung from the necessity he lay under of refusing nothing to his Followers in the dawn of his Insurrection, and that he always wanted Men to command.

The Emperor had no sooner heard that *Cinque* was yet Master of the Fortrefs than he hop'd to get it out of his Hands; he caused to be represented to him the double Infidelity he had been guilty of against God and his Sovereign, and withal promis'd him a Pardon and a Reward, provided he would repair the ill, he had caused in *Bohemia*.

§. 12. *Cinque*, who had join'd with the *Hussites* out of the consideration of Interest only, easily separated himself from them upon the same Motives, in taking the security requisite for the Money, which was to be paid him in the Town of *Wicktemberg*, and for the Land, which it was agreed upon he should have in his own Country of *Wicktemberg*. He admitted four thousand Imperialists into the Castle of *Prague*, and oblig'd the *Hussites* again to keep themselves within their Intrenchments for fear of being surpriz'd. They made their application

tion to *Zisca*, who instead of reproaching them with the high esteem they had bore to a Traytor, comforted them under their Misfortunes, and remonstrated to them that the only way to prevent the dangerous Consequences of his Revolt, was speedily to block up the Castle, and so to cut off from it all Provisions and Succours, which that they might do, he sent them one Party of his Army, and went out to take the Field with the other, but the Castle was so well fortify'd, that it could well wait till the Emperor had re-united all his Forces.

He march'd straight to *Prague*, and *Zisca*, who was not in a Condition to dispute that Passage with him, encamped upon the Mountain of *Wicleben* within sight of the Enemy; the *Hussites* of *New Prague* animated by his approach redoubled their Efforts against the besieged Castle, and had infallibly carried their Point, if a Stratagem of the Emperors had not took them off from it. He observ'd the weakest side of the Besiegers, and cast there, the first time the Wind favour'd him, great store of moist Chaff and other cumbustible Matter, which being lighted sent out so thick a Smoak, and so horrible a Smell, that the *Hussites* were oblig'd to quit the Place. The Catholicks easily took Possession, having before-hand prepared all things necessary to extinguish the Flame and take away the ill Smell. By that means they brought a new Garrison into the Citadel, and replenish'd it with such Provisions, that the *Hussites* perceiv'd by the free Communication there was betwixt those that were within and those without, that they could never enter into *New Prague* through that Gate. Upon this they rais'd the Siege, and took all the pains they could to secure themselves

selves against the Castle on the one hand, and the Imperialists on the other, who were not satisfied to besiege the *Hussites* in their turn, but had also detach'd part of their Forces under the Conduct of the Counts *de Rossen* and *Crayer* to form at the same time another Siege before *Tabor*. Their Design was to extirpate the *Hussites* in one Campaign, and nothing could have prevented the Accomplishment of that Design, if *Zisca* had allow'd them Time to put it in Execution.

§. 13. THAT great Commander had no sooner receiv'd Information of the March of the two Counts, than he sent close after them the Lord of *Hus* with the bravest of the *Hussite* Army, who penetrating into the intention of the Catholicks, us'd so much Diligence, that they out-went them and tarried for their coming up at the Entry of a Pass, through which they were necessitated to go. The Counts, who did not expect to find the Way guarded by Men so courageous, were extremely surpriz'd to see them there, and took but one moment's time to deliberate before they encounter'd them. But neither their Resolution to Fight till their last Breath, nor the incredible Valour of their Troops could overcome the Disadvantages of the Field. They were there entirely defeated, and the Emperor, instead of drooping at the News, endeavour'd immediately to repair his Loss by storming the Camp of *Zisca* before his victorious Troops could return to him.

The Attack was general, and *Zisca*, who took care to defend himself on all sides, with all his resistance could in no Case hinder the Marquis *de Misnie* from penetrating with the Imperial Van-guard, where he commanded, into the
Camp

Camp of the *Hussites*. *Zisca* being perswaded that all was lost, unless he could dislodge those troublesome Guests before they had time to introduce their Companions, fell upon them with so much Fury, that at the third Charge he drove them to the brink of the steepest part of the Mountain, and from thence cast them headlong down. Their Loss suspended all other Assaults, and the Emperor not judging it convenient to continue the Charge at so remarkable a disadvantage, caused a Retreat to be founded. His Army appear'd so much disheartened the following Days, that least *Zisca* should cut them all off, if in his turn he should set upon them, the Siege of *New Prague* was entirely raised.

§. 14. *Zisca* was a second time receiv'd in Triumph into the Capital City of *Bohemia*: But he was not there long, before he had some Contests with the Clergy. They had no less Credit in the *Hussite* Army than *Zisca* himself, and began to cross his Design by certain ridiculous Prophecies. He had proposed to seize upon those Places, which the Emperor had abandon'd in his overthrow, and to fortify them so regularly as to be able to put a stop to the Efforts of the third Army, which that Prince was about to levy in the Empire to supply the Defects of his own. In the mean time the Ecclesiasticks to elude the Effect of so salutary Counsel, agreed to publish, that on the Day of Pentecost, which was nigh at hand, a Fire would fall from Heaven upon all the Cities of *Bohemia*, and reduce them to Ashes, as it had formerly happened unto *Sodom*. The Faith they had in them was so great, that the *Hussites* carried out of the Cities
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into Caverns all that they held dear, and assembled themselves in Tents that Day the pretended Wrath of God was to shew it self. But never were any Expectations more ridiculously baulk'd, for instead of Fire, there fell upon them a prodigious Shower of Rain, which pierced thro' their Tents, and wet them to the Skin.

Their Priests having thus deceiv'd them, whilst they pretended to be Prophets, and seeing that *Zisca* had not failed in his Attempt to take the *Higb* and *Low Prague*, preached to their Troops, that they could not do a more acceptable Service to God Almighty, than by destroying the Temples built in the Capital City of *Bohemia* for the Invocation of Saints, because it was a Prerogative of the Divinity, which could not be communicated to meer Creatures, to have Churches dedicated to him.

The Soldiers were the more credulous, as they had their own Interests in it, upon account of the Ornaments of which they made the greatest part their own; they ran into the Churches, and plundered them, notwithstanding all that *Zisca* could do to stop their Violence. The *Hussite* Citizens, who saw the most August Embellishments of their Town thrown to the Ground, were no less irritated thereat, than the Catholicks, and enter'd into an Agreement with them to drive the Army of *Zisca* out of the Town. That General being conscious to himself, that they acted not without Reason, and being unwilling either to throw them into Despair, or to give his Soldiers opportunity of pillaging, lest after they had enrich'd themselves, they should forsake him, very artfully drew them out of *Prague*, under the pretext of leading them to the Siege of *Visségrade*. As that

Castle was too near to *Prague* to be left in the Hands of the *Imperialists*, it was so closely press'd, that the Garrison agreed to surrender, if the Emperor did not himself in Person succour them within a prefix'd Time. This Capitulation was told to that Prince, who not caring to lose a Place, which alone might one day serve to recover *Prague*, rais'd so suddenly a third Army, that he arriv'd with it at *Vissegrade* the Day before the *Hussites* were to have taken Possession of it. *Zisca* gave them free Leave to join themselves to the besieged, and that he might make them the more confident, he pretended to raise the Siege. The *Hussite* Army retir'd to *Prague*, as if it had not dar'd to keep the Field, and the *Imperialists* overjoy'd to have sav'd *Vissegrade* without any Hazard, gave themselves up to Pleasures, with as little Precaution, as if the War had been ended. But *Zisca* came upon them with a strong Force in the midst of their Jollity, and without finding any Resistance defeated them, and again compell'd the Emperor to return into *Silezia*.

§. 15. WHILST his Imperial Majesty was labouring to appease the *Moravians*, the Chief of whose Nobility he was about to lead to the Slaughter before *Vissegrade*, *Zisca* took the Place, and freed his Party from the new Sectarists, who had intermingled themselves with them. They were called *Orebites*, as if their Creed had been as true and certain, as that which was revealed to *Moses* upon Mount *Oreb*, or as if they had been willing to out-do the *Hussites* upon *Tabor*. They differed from them in the one single Point of the Hierarchy only: For they were not satisfy'd with making to themselves Priests of

of their Churches, and with consecrating and administering their pretended Sacraments by meer Lay-men; but had moreover so great an Aversion for all sorts of Ecclesiasticks, that they either burnt them, or cast them into frozen Ponds: Or if there were any whom they did not esteem worthy to fall by their Hands, they depriv'd them of those Parts of their Bodies, wherein consisted the Distinction of their Sex, and tho' one unhappy Man offer'd them a large Sum of Money to be dismiss'd out of their Hands without a Maim, he escaped no better than the rest.

§. 16. *Zisca* had so many other Affairs, that he could not quite extirpate them, but yet he compell'd them to join their Forces with his, on Condition of giving no Quarter to Catholick Priests. He led their Troops with his own against *Bogeslaus* surnamed the *Swan*, the most valiant and rich Nobleman in *Bohemia*. He block'd him up in his own Castle, which was the strongest and best fortify'd throughout *Germany*. He invented new Instruments to destroy its Fences, he took it by Storm, and pardon'd *Bogeslaus* out of the sole Consideration of his Valour. He took care his Life should be preserv'd, tho' *Bogeslaus* cast himself down from the most dangerous Places with design to have murder'd himself. He sought to make a Friend of a formidable Enemy, and all Catholick and *Imperialist* as he was, yet did he look upon him as a Man, whom he design'd for his Successor in the Generalship over the *Hussites*. He caused him to be surrounded, seiz'd and disarm'd forthwith, he held him only Prisoner upon Parole, paid him all manner of Civilities, and in such sort

charm'd him with his Conversation, that in fine, he made him renounce his Faith towards God, and his Fidelity to his Prince. *Bogeslaus* became an *Hussite*, and ceased not to do considerable Service for *Zisca*, until he was slain under the Walls of a certain Place, which *Zisca* had commanded him to storm.

§. 17. HOWEVER, his Example drew not over one other Gentleman of *Bohemia* to *Zisca's* Party, they still persever'd in their Obedience to their Sovereign, notwithstanding his ill Fortune, and raised for him an Army capable in Appearance to have re-establish'd him in his Authority. The Emperor led it on against the Monastery of *Claronne*, which *Zisca* had converted into a Citadel, by reason of its advantageous Situation. He besieg'd it in Form, he turn'd aside the Course of the River, which supply'd it with Water, and press'd so close the Siege, that it was upon the Point to surrender, when *Zisca* came in to its Succour. His Approach, or rather the Victories he had gain'd there, made such an Impression upon the Minds of the *Imperialists*, that neither the Justice of their Cause, their Honour, their Word, the Danger to which they expos'd the Emperor, could prevail with them to stand their Colours, they all forsook him, and that Prince was so sensibly touch'd with the Affront he had receiv'd, and so much provoked at his ill Fortune, that he thought himself not safe whilst in *Bohemia*.

§. 18. HIS Retreat set *Zisca* at Liberty to do what he pleas'd; and as this War had that in common with all other religious Wars, that the Places besieged, even tho' they were not strong, made

made a resolute Defence, and capitulated not till reduc'd to the last Extremity : *Zisca* endeavour'd to surmount that Resistance by a Severity sufficient to intimidate the most resolute. He caused to be cut in Pieces all Persons of both Sexes above the Age of ten Years, whom he found in any of the Towns he had taken by Assault, and the rest he caused to be educated in the Schools of the *Hussites*. But that Conduct met with the same Effect, as what is extraordinary generally produces; for the ill, which flow'd from thence by far exceeded all the good that was expected. The Catholicks, being now depriv'd of all Remedy, acted like Men in Despair, and if afterward Composition was demanded, when they perceiv'd themselves to be overborn, they derided the Quarter, which was offer'd them, tho' at the same time the *Hussites* were Masters of the Walls. If the Towns did not all hold out the Siege an equal Time, they yet held out with an equal Ardour; and before one of the least of them, named *Rabi*, it was that *Zisca* was punish'd after this manner of making War in *Turky*. He was taking a turn round the Town to observe the Place, whereby it might be storm'd with less loss to the Besiegers, when an Arrow accidentally thrown upon the 25th of *March* 1421, struck out the only Eye he had remaining, and penetrated so deep into his Head, that he fell down as if he had been dead. He was carried into his Tent, and the Surgeons of the Army were apprehensive of being torn in pieces by the Soldiers if he died under their Hands, to avoid this Inconvenience, they declared after the first dressing, that the Air of the Camp did not agree with a Wound of that Nature, and gave order for *Zisca* to be remov'd into

into *Prague*. The desire of his Soldiers to save the Life of their General was so violent, that they would permit none to attend him but themselves; and his Constitution was so vigorous, that he recover'd in less than 3 Months. He entreated his Soldiers to elect another General, after having assur'd them, that he thought himself happy in having lost his Sight in defending the Light of the Gospel in all its Purity.

But they were so fully perswaded of the extraordinary Qualifications of his Mind, as to imagine them well capable of making up the Loss of his Eye; and instead of accepting his Proposals, they cast themselves at his Feet, and earnestly beg'd of him to continue his Command over them. They promis'd to pay him a more implicit Obedience than ever; they represented to him, that they should infallibly be defeated under the Conduct of a new General, they threaten'd to desert him rather than to agree to what he desir'd, and with their Faces to the ground remain'd in a deep Silence, which was interrupted with only Sighs and Tears, till *Zisca* had yielded to their Entreaties, and had again taken upon himself the Authority of their Head. This Action caused his whole Army in one moment to pass from the deepest Sorrow into an Extremity of Joy, and the Event shew'd, that they had reason to prefer their brave General, all blind as he was, to any other whatsoever.

§. 19. THE Emperor being wearied with struggling against his ill Fortune, was now resolv'd to crush the *Hussites* by an Excess of Power, and upon their Ruins to re-establish his Reputation, which was upon the Decline in those large Countries, over which they had extended their

their Domination. He called the Estates of the Empire together at *Nuremberg*, where he exaggerated the Enterprize of *Zisca*, who not being satisfy'd with driving his Sovereign so many times out of the Field, pretended yet further to form a kind of Anarchy in *Bohemia*: His Imperial Majesty added, that that Rebel, after having oblig'd the People of that Realm to canton themselves, had solicited their Neighbours also to follow so dangerous an Example; and that by an Affront unworthy of the August House of *Saxony*, he had forthwith apply'd himself to the Inhabitants of *Misnie*, and had sent them Troops in order to favour their Revolt; and that he had no grounds to doubt, but that those unciviliz'd People would sink under the Temptation. Since that it was as great with them, as with the *Bohemians*, for that there were among them many magnificent Churches to be pillag'd, and Ecclesiastical Revenues to be usurp'd; and that the Nobility, not treating the Peasants there with less Rigour, would dispose them no less than the former to receive the new Doctrine, which taught, that all Lords of Manors fell from their Rights, which they had over their Tenants, by the least mortal Sin they should commit; that *High* and *Low Saxony* would probably follow the Example of *Misnie* in their Rebellion, and contribute to form a Tempest, which in the end would lay waste all *Germany*; that the Princes of the Empire would at least lose their Estates in that Rebellion, and that the only means to preserve them was with united Forces to subdue the rebellious *Bohemians*, before the Contagion had spread it self over the other Parts of *Germany*.

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This Discourse deliver'd with much Eloquence and an Air of Gravity, wrought all the Effect which the Emperor aim'd at; he convinc'd the Multitude of petty Sovereigns, among whom *Germany* was divided, that their most pressing Interests consisted in serving the Emperor in their own Persons, and heading all the Troops they could raise against the Rebels in *Bohemia*. They promis'd to enter that Kingdom on the 24th of *August*, being the Feast of *St. Bartholomew*, with all their Forces on the *West* Side, and the Emperor reciprocally gave his Word, that he would penetrate into the *Eastern* Parts of it on the same Day, with the whole Strength of *Hungary* and *Austria*.

As *Germany* is a seminary of warlike Men, no Army could be better fitted out, nor more numerous than the Army which they rais'd. Of all the Electors, Ecclesiastical and Secular, the Elector of *Treves* was only absent, and he was sick; and the subaltern Princes after such an Example were ashamed to remain at home. Upon the Day prefix'd they arriv'd upon the *Western* Frontiers of *Bohemia*, but receiv'd no Advice there either of the Emperor's Approach, or indeed March, with the Forces of *Hungary* and *Austria*. They were not however so much astonish'd at the Delay of that Prince, as they were to find no Enemy in the Field, and to be inform'd, that *Zisca* contrary to his old Maxims of facing the Enemy at all Adventures, had now shut himself up in his new Town of *Tabor*. That marvellous blind Man had foreseen, that if he should forthwith oppose himself to the dreadful Multitude of *Germans* who accompanied their Princes, he could not possibly avoid an Overthrow, for that his Army, well train'd as it was, could not

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but be scar'd at the sight of so large an host of Enemies; and that if his Forces should wait for their coming up, their mighty Courage would serve only to make their Loss the more universal, for they not exceeding the number of thirty thousand Men at the most, and the Imperial Horse alone amounting to that, the *Hussites* would be straightway surrounded and cut in pieces, even tho' the Foot should not engage themselves in the Battle. This Inconvenience had no other Remedy, than by placing nothing in the way of the Catholick Army, to frustrate its Attempt; for so that prodigious multitude would be compel'd to fall upon the Siege of some well fortify'd Town; where, besides the Garrison, a Party of *Hussite* Troops, which should be pour'd in, would for a long time sustain the Shock of the Catholick Forces, and weary them in such sort, that receiving no Pay, they would of their own accord desert in Companies.

Thus *Zisca*, after having rased to the ground those Places which he despair'd of defending, caus'd to be carry'd into the others all the Provisions he met with in the Field, and having render'd the Country around desolate, he retir'd to his Mountain: And the Imperialists, when they had long deliberated where their Siege should begin, had the ill hap to pitch upon the Town which was best fortify'd and furnish'd with Provisions of any that were in the hands of the *Hussites*.

§. 20. THIS was the Town of *Soas*, into which he had cast the Choice of his Troops, upon the conjecture, that that being more convenient than the others to the Enemy, it

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would be the first attack'd by them: It was assaulted with more Violence than Regularity, tho' the Germans were ignorant of nothing, which belong'd either to the Art of War, or the manner of forming a Siege. And indeed, their dreadful Efforts serv'd only to render the Prudence of *Zisca* more commendable, who had no less occasion to instruct his Soldiers in that sort of Fight, than in that of a Field-battle. They surpriz'd the Besiegers by unforeseen ways, and as oft overthrew the Batteries they had rais'd against their Ramparts; they gave them equal resistance in their Attempts to undermine the Town, or to scale its Walls; and such was their Vigilance, that they were always found upon their guard, and ready to receive the Shock of twenty-six Assaults, which were made at different times by the Imperialists, who had always chose too the most inconvenient hours. For seven Weeks was *Soas* besieg'd, without shewing any sign of Capitulating, and then it was freed from the Siege by the means which *Zisca* had foreseen. *Bokemia* being now no longer able to furnish the Besiegers with the Necessaries of Life, they were oblig'd to fetch them from *Mishie* and *Saxony*, and the Expence of Carriage gave occasion to those who sold Victuals to the Army to raise the Price of them, the German Soldiers, who serv'd without being enrolled, and who came only upon the Entreaty of their Lords, car'd not to delay their Return till after their Purses were quite exhausted. They therefore retir'd before-hand, and compell'd the Elector of *Saxony*, who commanded them as Grand Marshal of the Empire, to raise the Siege upon the 16th of *October*, being

ing the Day of *St. Gallus*. The Emperor, who had made an Assignment for the end of *August*, could not enter *Bohemia* till the end of *December*, for not being able to oblige the Forces of *Hungary* and *Austria* to march out of their own Country against their Will, he was constrain'd to employ a long time in gaining over the Nobility of those two Estates, who were to conduct them. 'Tis true, they appear'd so well equip'd, notwithstanding it was Winter, that their good condition did in some measure repair the slowness of their meeting. He had fifty thousand Horse and twenty thousand Footmen, who were apprehensive of nothing less, than that *Zisca* would with respect to them make use of the same Invention, wherein he had so happily succeeded in the Dissipation of the German Army: But he soon deliver'd them from those Fears, for tho' his Troops were by one half less numerous than the Troops of the Enemy, yet made he the best of his way to encounter them, instead of waiting for their coming up to him. The Battle was fought upon the Frontiers of *Moravia* upon the 30th day of *January* in the year 1422; and upon the first Shock the Imperial Horse fell back upon their Foot, who were by consequence expos'd to the discretion of the *Hussites*; who made amongst them a most dreadful Slaughter; and *Zisca* being perswaded that he might by that Blow put an end to the War, pursued the flying Enemy for near twenty-four hours. He took all their Baggage, and gave it out, that he there seiz'd upon immense Riches.

Pio, a Gentleman of *Florence*, who was Commander of the Catholick Horse he had brought along with him, us'd an incredible Diligence

in his Flight, to joyn to them the rest of the dispersed Soldiers; but in crossing the Ice of the River *Ing*, the Ice broke, and drown'd the most part of them who were upon it, in punishment of their Cowardise.

As the Emperor had ill succeeded in this last effort to recover *Bobemia*, and the Catholicks remaining in that Kingdom were not in a condition any more to oppose the Arms of *Zisca*, they were forced to hearken to the Propositions of Peace, which he offer'd them upon these Conditions; the one, that the Exercise of the Catholick Religion, and the Religion of the *Hussites* should be equally free both in the Towns and Country; the other, That the Two Parties should proceed with one common Voice to degrade the Emperor from being King of *Bobemia*.

§. 21. THUS the Subjects of that Prince, by an Attempt, which the *Hussites* judg'd lawful, and the Catholicks necessary, were reconcil'd to each other at their Sovereign's Expence; and here one cannot enough admire the Generosity of *Zisca*, who having it in his Power to place the Crown upon his own Head, shew'd himself superior to it by despising it. He answer'd those who press'd him to accept of it, that he knew not how to make Ambition agree with Religion, and that having read in the Old Testament, that it was not the Intention of God to give a King to his People, and that he had never consented to it, till they had in a manner wearied him with their Importunities, he could not with a safe Conscience ascend the Throne of *Bobemia*, and therefore he advis'd them to reduce their Government into

into the Form of a Commonwealth. He went yet higher, and resign'd to them his Generalship over the *Hussites*.

The tragical events, which follow'd his Return to a private Life, soon made them see, that he was no less useful to his Party in Peace than in War. The *Hussites*, puffed up with so many Victories which they ow'd entirely to him, were not long satisfy'd with the breaking down all solid Images they met with; they shortly after effaced all Paintings, and extended their Insolence so far, as not to suffer the Priests to say Mass in their habits.

The Magistrate of *Prague*, where they had first made known their Intention, foreseeing the dangerous consequences of that Innovation, endeavour'd to put a stop to it, if possible, by seizing upon the Authors of it, and punishing them without being discover'd. He knew that Fryer *John*, an *Augustine* Monk, who had forsook his Orders, and who had formerly caus'd the Monastery, wherein was the Sepulcher of the Kings of *Bohemia*, to be burnt, was the Man who first taught in the *Hussite* Congregations, that Painted Images and Sacerdotal Vestments were the Garb of Antichrist; and he had likewise gather'd up the Names of nine of the chief Persons, who had embraced his sentiments. The Credit, which they bore among the *Hussites*, did not hinder their Death from being resolv'd upon. They were sent for to come as on the morrow, under pretext of some important Affairs to be communicated to them, and no one fail'd of the Affignation. Fryer *John* and his nine Friends came all together to the Town-house; they were call'd in one after the other, and were introduced

duc'd into a Chamber, where certain Soldiers, who stood ready, cut the Throats of each of them as they enter'd.

The Magistrates had so far carry'd on the Matter well; but it was disconcerted by the Imprudence of the Keeper, who made too much haste to clean the Room wherein the Murder had been committed. The Water, wherewith it was wash'd, being colour'd with the Blood of the slain *Hussites*, sunk through into the Streets, and made those of their Party judge, that 'twas there they were depriv'd of their most fam'd Preacher, and the most creditable of their Accomplices. Upon this a Sedition was rais'd, which was not appeas'd, but by the Murder of the Magistrates, and of them who had been their Instruments in the Execution of the Monk and his Companions. Their Relicks were carry'd in Procession by the Sectarists, and enrich'd with the same precious Ornaments, as the Relicks of Saints were wont to be enrich'd with. They imagin'd, that this Attempt of the Magistrates upon the Lives of their new Martyrs, was undertaken with design to re-establish the Emperor in the Throne of *Bohemia*; and to take away from that Prince all hopes of ever recovering that Kingdom, they carry'd Matters to that extremity, as would infallibly render themselves more irreconcilable with him. They enter'd by force into that famous College, which his Father had built in the midst of *Prague*, they pillag'd it, ras'd it to the very Foundations, and burnt that prodigious Library of Manuscripts, which the Emperor had, at a vast expence, collected throughout all places in *Europe*. *Zisca* knew not of their design, till after they had put it

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in execution, nor did he then approve of it; but as it was easy to foresee, that the Insolence of the *Hussites* would not stop there, and that *Zisca* would in no wise abandon his Party in time of need, what reason soever he had to blame their Conduct, the Catholics did wisely consider, that there remain'd no other way left to make their Persons and Estates secure, than by proceeding to the Election of a King. The Proposition appear'd so plausible, that the most considerable of the *Hussites* being wearied with living in Anarchy, wherein they were continually expos'd to the Rage of the meaner sort of People, favour'd it in a full Assembly, tho' it was averse to their true Interests. *Zisca* in vain represented to them, that they could not raise up an imperfect Man, such as himself, to that Dignity without prejudice to their Liberty; but that if the Faithful were resolv'd to live in Bondage, they ought only to elect for their Sovereign, one who had in like manner as themselves been taught in their Purity the Truths of the Gospel; for so he term'd the Doctrine of the *Hussites*. However, they shew'd no regard to his Advice, but the Heads of both Parties conspir'd to elect *Vitold* the General in *Lithuania*, tho' he was a Catholic.

It appear'd by the event, that the Catholics and the *Hussites* had done better for themselves than they could have imagin'd; for tho' *Vitold* was then fully employ'd in *Lithuania* against the *Muscovites*, yet did he accept of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and sent to his new Subjects well accommodated Troops, which were raised by his Credit, under the Conduct of *Sigismund Coribut* his Cousin German. That Vice-roy

roy possess'd in an eminent degree all the Qualifications, which were necessary to establish and maintain in a profound Peace the Tranquillity of *Bohemia*, divided as it was. The first consisted in the Charms of his Conversation, and in the excessive Complaisance he shew'd to all Persons of Condition, of what Opinion soever they were ; and the second, was his inflexible and severe Resolution in the Punishment of all bad Actions, and doing justice to all Mankind without exception or reserve. His manner of Government was so agreeable to the whole World, that in less than three months he re-establish'd a Calm in *Bohemia*, which had so long been rent by Civil Wars. He then labour'd to secure the Scepter of *Bohemia* in the hands of his Master, in disposing both Catholicks and *Hussites* to assist him in a Siege, he was about to carry on, against the strongest Fortress which remain'd in the Power of the Imperialists.

§. 22. *Charles* the fourth had caus'd it to be built upon a Mountain, and nam'd it *Carolstein*, or *Charles-stone*. Who was the Governor thereof is unknown, and Historians are the more to be blam'd for their Negligence in this Point, since it was to this illustrious unknown Commander, that the Emperor ow'd the Recovery of his Kingdom of *Bohemia*. The only thing, which usually casts Despair into the Minds of besieged Heroes, the Despair of receiving any Succours from without, did not in the least diminish his Courage or Foresight, he repuls'd his Enemy at every Attack ; and *Cori-*
but not being able to subdue him by force, order'd to be cast into the Place besieg'd, by a Machine,

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Machine all the dead Bodies of the Slain during the Siege, and more than two thousand Cart-load of Ordure. The horrible Smell, which this cast forth, caused the Teeth of the Defenders to fall out, and shook in such for the Teeth of others, that they preserv'd themselves only by the invention of a rich Apothecary in *Bohemia*, who by the help of Money caused to flow in *Carolstein* Remedies and Preservatives against the Ills they endured : But the besieged had no sooner escaped from this Inconvenience, than they were ready to sink under another, there was no Water in the Place, and that which the Soldiers had drunk of, was drawn from a Fountain, which was not far off from thence, and which they kept to themselves by means of a Fort which commanded it ; against this Fort the Enemy rais'd six dreadful Machines, which cast at all times a prodigious Number of Stones.

The Governor of *Carolstein* had in a Sally taken Prisoner a near Relation of *Coribut's*, and upon supposition that the Viceroy would cause the Battery to cease, if he could not continue it without stoning his Cousin to death, he had recourse to this strange Statagem. After having inform'd them by a Trumpet of what he was about to do, he caused the Prisoner to be tied to the place, where the principal Effort of the Besiegers lay. This sad Spectacle drew Tears from *Coribut*, but he was not so far touch'd with it, as upon that account to suspend the Action of Battery ; so much was he perswaded that the service of his Master was to be prefer'd to the preservation of his own Blood. The Machines cast against the Fort a whole Day the Stones they were charg'd with, and that with more violence than before ; yet not one struck the

Kinsman of *Coribut*, and the Governor of *Carolsstein* being inform'd in the Evening, that he was still living, made a scruple of exposing any more to that danger a Man, whom Providence had taken so much care to protect, and therefore sent to have him untied.

Six whole Months did this Siege last, till at length the Elector of *Brandenburg* raised a new Army at the entreaty of the Emperor, and casting himself into *Bohemia*, he made to pass thro' Fire and Sword all places which were incapable to resist him. *Coribut* receiving Intelligence that he would not stop to besiege any Town, and apprehending he would lay waste the Country, rais'd the Siege of *Carolsstein* and marched to meet him.

Brandenburg, who car'd to run no hazard, retir'd into his Electorate; and *Coribut*, not being able to come up to him, was preparing to return to the Siege of *Carolsstein*, but was prevented by an unforeseen Accident. The Emperor disputed the homage of *Prussia* with *Ladislaus* King of *Poland*, the Affair went on the side of the *Polanders*; and that Prince, as a mark of an entire Reconciliation, oblig'd the great General of *Lithuania* to recal *Coribut* with his Troops which were engag'd in the War of *Bohemia*. The *Hussite* Army being thus impair'd by the loss of near one half of its Forces, was in no condition to begin the Siege, and *Zisca*, to keep them in exercise till such time as he could recruit them, led them into *Austria*, with design to make the like Havock there, as the Elector of *Brandenburg* had made in *Bohemia*. But he found, that the Peasants and the Inhabitants of the weak Towns, advertis'd of his March, had opportunely retired into the Isles, which the *Danube* form'd in great

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Numbers in their Country, and had carried with them whatever they had of value, among which was their Cattle, whereupon they subsisted; It was impossible to draw them thence by force, but *Zisca* supply'd that defect by Artifice; having first set Fire to all the Houses he had found forsaken, he caused to be led along the Banks of the *Danube* over against the Isles, Calves and young Pigs; and having prick'd them in their most sensible Parts, and caused them to set up a loud Cry, the Beasts of the same kind across the River cast themselves into the Water, and swum over to their assistance, notwithstanding all that the Peasants, who had no Stables wherein to inclose them, could do to hinder them. Thus did *Zisca* obtain the Cattle, and he had infallibly brought a Famine upon their Masters, if a new Enemy had not call'd him back into *Bohemia* with greater haste, than he departed with from thence.

§. 23. *Erric King of Denmark*, after having reduc'd his Rebel Subjects of *Sweden* to their Obedience, came in Person to offer his Army to the Emperor and the Infant of *Portugal* at the same time brought to his Assistance his Veteran Troops, which were become useless to him by the Peace concluded betwixt the *Castilians* and the *Portuguese*. The Experience which those two Commanders had gain'd in the Art of War re-establish'd the Reputation of the Emperor, and gave him an opportunity of re-entering *Bohemia* with two new Armies. He placed himself at the Head of the former, which was compos'd of the Forces of *Denmark* and *Portugal*, and led them before *Itemberg*, the strongest Town in *Moravia*. He sent the other, which was compos'd of all the Troops, that the Marquis of *Misnie*, their

Commander, could raise in his own Province, and in the Provinces of *Saxony*, *Turinge* and *Lusatia*, to form a regular Siege against the Town of *Ausque*; reasoning thus, that either *Zisca* would endeavour to save those two important Places, or he would suffer them to be taken before his Eyes; if he should attempt to succour them, he would be oblig'd to divide his Forces, and consequently hazard an entire Defeat, or at least the Defeat of those Troops, where he did not himself Command in Person; and if he remain'd without Action, he would lose that Reputation which his Victories had gain'd him among the *Hussites*. This Conjecture prov'd true, in that *Zisca*, tho' he was less strong than the one half of his Enemies, resolv'd to make Head against all of them; he dispatched the young *Procopius* into *Moravia*, to furnish the Inhabitants of *Itemberg* with Aid and Provisions, and march'd himself in order to constrain the Marquis *de Misnie* to raise the Siege of *Auche*.

§. 24. THE young *Procopius* was at that time a meer Work of Fortune, and did afterwards by his extraordinary Actions in War merit the Name of the *Great*. A Gentleman of *Bohemia*, the Brother of his Mother, who had no Children, seeing him to be without an Estate, had adopted him, and travel'd with him throughout all *Europe*, and from thence had pass'd into *Palestine* to visit the *Holy Land*. At their return, *Procopius* found himself a Man of the best Stature and most vigorous Constitution of any throughout *Bohemia*, and his Travels had so far enur'd his Body to all Sorts of Toil, that he seem'd as it were design'd for a Warriour. But yet his Uncle was absolutely resolv'd to make a Priest of him,

him, and to content him, indeed *Procopius* enter'd into holy Orders, tho' in his Heart he was averse to all Ecclesiastical Functions. The Antipathy which was betwixt his Condition and his Inclinations, caused him to give heed as soon as he had got Possession of his Uncle's Estate, to the Doctrine of the *Hussites*, and almost at the same time to cast off his Cassock, that he might list himself under their Colours. He remain'd not long unknown to *Zisca*, who having speedily made him pass thro' all the Degrees of the military Art, nominated him for his Lieutenant in *Moravia*, and gave him in Charge, as a Tryal of his Skill, to oblige the Emperor to raise the Siege of *Itemberg*. It was no difficult thing for *Procopius* to enlarge his Troops, or to heap up Provisions in *Moravia*, for the chief Towns and People of that Province were entirely at his Devotion. It cost him more Pains to convey the Provisions he had brought into the Place besieged, but after having attempted divers ways to succeed, which were all disconcerted by the Vigilance of the *Imperialists*, he at last took the Advantage of a thick Mist, and caused at the same time so many false Attacks to be made on the Quarters of the Besiegers, that the true one, which was attended with the Convoy of Provisions, pass'd the Enemies Lines, and carried it into *Itemberg*. *Procopius* perceiving by the Signal of the besieg'd, that he had met with Success, would no more hazard his Troops, but was content with cutting off all Provision from the *Imperial* Army, which was by that means reduc'd to the Necessity of raising the Siege, and joyning the *Marquis de Misnie*.

Zisca had at the same time march'd to dislodge the Army before *Ausque*, but he found the Place
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surrender'd, and being unwilling to suffer the *Imperialists* after so many Losses to reap that small Advantage, he entred their Lines, and form'd a second Siege with more Vigour than the former. The Marquis of *Misnie*, jealous to preserve the Conquest he had gain'd, at the Head of all the Princes, and consequently all the Forces of his House, march'd to unite himself with the Emperor. *Procopius* well knew how important it was to prevent that Union, but not daring to venture himself in the open Field betwixt two Armies, either of which by far exceeded his own in Numbers, lest he should expose himself to the inevitable Peril of a Defeat, he took the only safe Course he was capable of, and went forward to joyn his General.

§. 25. *Zisca* being thus seasonably reinforc'd, foresaw that if he should entangle himself betwixt the Town he besieg'd and the Imperial Army, they would soon cut off from him all manner of Provisions, and ruin his Forces in a few Days; whereas, if he fell upon them at the time they first appear'd within sight of his Lines, he could the more easily overcome them by Surprise, in that they would be then more taken up with the thoughts of providing to themselves Quarters, than of encountring the Enemy; and that in so perplexing a Conjunction, the Memory of so many past Victories he had gain'd over them would infallibly confound their Judgment, and cast them into such Consternation, that they would immediately throw their Weapons out of their Hands to run away with more Agility. Upon this Supposition, the Spies of *Zisca* had no sooner brought him word, that the Imperial Army was approaching, than he drew
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out his Men from their Trenches, save a few Troops who were left behind to guard them, and to repel all Sallies from the Town. But he was mistaken in his Conjecture, that his Presence and Bravery would intimidate the Imperialists; 'tis true they were surpriz'd, but that Surprise soon ceased to make way for an extraordinary Valour, instead of degenerating into Cowardise. The Battle was more long and bloody, than for many Ages had been seen in *Germany*: It began at seven in the Morning, on the 22d of *April*, *A. D.* 1422, and continu'd till four in the Afternoon. All the Squadrons and Battalions were equally engag'd, and the greatest Part of the most valiant Soldiers were slain on both Sides. Fortune seem'd more than twenty times willing to declare for the Catholicks, who to re-establish their Reputation, behav'd themselves with great Resolution: But at length she inclin'd to *Zisca*, whether it was that she was asham'd to abandon him whom she had so oft befriended, or that being blind as he was, she took Pleasure in bestowing her Favours upon one so like herself. The Courage of the *Imperialists* endur'd no longer than their hopes of Victory, and when they left their Standards and Colours upon the Ground, their Spirits began to droop, and they threw themselves upon their Knees to implore the Clemency of the Conquerors; but they made Application to enraged Men, who slew them all with the Edge of the Sword, for that in their preceding Victories they found no Advantage either in granting Pardon to the conquer'd, or in taking them Prisoners. Of the House of *Saxony* there were found four younger Sons dead in Battle, with nine thousand Imperialists. And *Zisca*, too cunning to let
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the Heat of his Army grow cool, led them against the Walls, as if he had a Design to storm the Town. The Garrison who had contented themselves with being Spectators of the Combat, without being concern'd in it themselves, sunk at the Defeat given to the two Armies, design'd to free them from their Imprisonment, and demanded a Capitulation. The *Hussites* perceiving them to be afraid, instead of answering to the Parley, made themselves ready to give the Assault. Upon the first Attack the besieged left their Walls; and thus was *Itemberg* again taken, and its Citizens expos'd to the last Rigours of Fire and Sword, after that the Soldiers had satisfy'd their Brutality and Avarice upon them.

§. 26. *Zisca* puff'd up with his Victory demolish'd the Churches of the Catholics, and extirpated all Priests who said Mass in the usual Forms. However, these Cruelties had not increas'd his Enemies in *Bohemia*, for the *Bohemians* had the Interests of Religion little at Heart, either because they wanted Instructions, or that the scandalous Lives of the Clergy seem'd to authorise the Excesses, which were shew'd towards their Persons,) if the ordinary Licence of Conquerors had not carried him on to such Extremities, as render'd both the Nobility and Commonalty of *Bohemia* incens'd against him. The Nobility saw themselves in a moment reduc'd to Beggary, by the refusal which their *Hussite* Tenants made to pay them, what they ow'd to them, and resolv'd rather to die than to survive the Loss of their Estates, they betook themselves to Arms. The Citizens of the Towns, upon whom was impos'd a Tax in order to maintain the Conquerors, having never pay'd the

the like before, made a general Insurrection upon the first Proposal of it, and those of the Capital City in the Kingdom out-went the rest: For *Zisca*, in order to punish them, having commanded Fire to be set to a great Number of the Houses of Pleasure, which were in and about *Prague*, both the *Hussites* and the Catholics were so highly disgusted at it, that they call'd in the Nobility, and furnish'd them with means to make War with the greater Ease against *Zisca*, as the Citizens of the other Towns had follow'd their Example. This unforeseen Revolution had render'd unprofitable to *Zisca* the Fruit he had reap'd from so many Victories, and compel'd him to begin them anew. The fear of being starv'd in *Tabor*, the only Place which would have remain'd to him, if with his Army he had shut himself up there, caused him to direct his Course towards the River *Elb*, in the Posture of a Fugitive rather than a Conqueror. The Nobility follow'd close at his Heels, overtook him at *Pogebzac*, where he attempted to pass the Bridge of the River, and had infallibly been overthrown, if the Lord of that Place, either favouring his Heresy, or compassionating his Misfortunes, had not suffer'd him to pass over.

The Nobility disappointed in this Enterprize, lost not their Courage, and pursu'd the *Hussites* with so much Heat, that they a second time overtook them in a Plain bordering upon those Mountains, to which they were about to fly. *Zisca* well knew, that if he should there face the Enemy, he could not but be routed, because the Field of Battle was very advantageous to the Nobility. He therefore oppos'd to them seven or eight hundred of the best of his Soldiers, and whilst they were busying themselves

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in cutting these to pieces, he made haste with the rest of his Soldiers to take Possession of the Mountains, he set his Army in Battle array at the entry of a Pass, where the Enemies Horse could not reach them, for it was surrounded with Rocks and Precipices, both on the right and the left. The Front of the Battle was set thick with Pikemen, and defended with Files of heavy-arm'd Soldiers, the Firmness of which Ranks could not be comprehended. There was no Appearance of their being attack'd in a Place so advantageous to them. But yet the exasperated Nobility, after having slain with the Sword all those whom they found in the Plain, were resolv'd to make a furious Assault upon the Pass on the 3d of *May*, 1423. They fought with all the Resentment Persons could be capable of, who had been rob'd of their Estates, and were resolv'd either to recover them or die in the Attempt; but neither their excessive Valour, nor the new Strength which they seem'd to have borrow'd from their Despair, did exempt them from paying dear for their Rashness. They were almost wholly cut in pieces, and *Zisca* the eighth Time gain'd an absolute Victory: So universally did he subdue and drive out of *Bohemia* all who attempted to take up Arms against him. Three Days after he fled from thence, did he re-enter *Bohemia* Victorious, and the Towns astonish'd at his good Fortune deliver'd up to him all their Keys, the Capital City of *Prague* alone excepted, which expecting to be rais'd upon a Surrender, chose rather to act upon the defensive. 'Twas not long before he caus'd it to be surrounded with his Troops, and one might observe in his Countenance, that he was resolv'd to treat it with as much Severity,

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as was shew'd towards *Milan* by *Frederick Barbe-rousse*, who sow'd it with Salt. But that Pity which was banish'd the Breast of the General, enter'd into the Souls of his Soldiers. They had all of them within the City, Wives, or Mothers, or Children, or Friends, and the fear of seeing them butcher'd prevail'd upon them to mutiny. They assembled themselves together, notwithstanding the Prohibition of their Officers, and the Result was, that they would no longer assist at the Siege of the Capital Town of *Bohemia*, the most part of the Inhabitants whereof had embraced the true Religion: They added, that the Party of the *Hussites* would soon be brought to Destruction, if the Catholicks should perceive them to be divided among themselves: That the Power of the Emperor, who had so frequently recruited his routed Forces was terrible enough to the *Hussites*, without raising up a new Enemy within their own Bowels: And that nothing could be more ridiculous, than to turn their Arms against themselves, at a time when all they could do was but sufficient for their own Defence.

§. 27. AS soon as *Zisca* had receiv'd Information of this Disorder, he caused himself to be carried into the midst of the Seditious, and getting upon a Vessel, which he found their by chance, oblig'd them by his Presence and his Entreaties to give him Audience. He spoke modestly of himself, and said, that he only rejoiced in his past Prosperities, as they had formed so many valiant Men for military Offices in saving their Lives. He thank'd God, that his Army was in a different condition from himself, in that they were enrich'd and become celebrated by

Miracles of Valour, whereas he had lost his Sight, and had gain'd nothing but a vain Reputation, and even that they were about to take from him, that he had neither fought nor conquer'd but for them, and that he repented not either of his Labours or his Scars, except that his Blindness hinder'd him from acting with the same Facility as before for the Common Good; that it was not for his Interest to attack *Prague*, and that they well knew, it was not his Blood the insolent Citizens of that Town thirsted after so much as theirs; that they troubled not their Heads about a poor blind Man, it was the Army whom that blind Man had disciplin'd that they thought to overthrow; that either *Prague* must be destroy'd by them, or they by *Prague*; that it could not possibly hold out the Siege till the Emperor had a ninth time enter'd *Bohemia* in a warlike manner, which that Prince would not dare to do, unless he was inform'd of their Division, and that *Prague* would be taken before he could make any Advantage of it; and that then if he came, he would find the same *Hussites* united, who had so oft conquer'd him, and would still go on to conquer.

The Cunning of *Zisca's* Discourse was all contain'd in the Conclusion. For instead of obstinately persisting in the continuation of the Siege of *Prague*, he left it wholly to the Discretion of the Soldiers. He departed from the Camp, that they might deliberate with the more Liberty upon a Matter so important, and advis'd them only to take good Care of their own Safety if they should treat with those of *Prague*, and he protested, that he would faithfully execute whatever they should determine concerning the Fate of that great Town.

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The *Hussite* Army was more sensibly affected with the Civility of their General, than they had been with the rest of his Harangue: They immediately agreed to send their Deputies to him with marks of Repentance, and to repair in an extraordinary manner the Fault they had committed, they offered to scale the Walls that very moment. But it was not the Design of *Zisca* to take his Soldiers at their Word, he had as yet made no Breach, and the Walls were too well guarded to give any Place to the Ladder. The Soldiers might too as easily pass from cruelty to compassion, as they had chang'd compassion for cruelty: And *Zisca* foresaw, that in that case it would be no more possible to bring them back to their Duty, if a second time they should lose all Respect. He therefore kept them in suspense, under pretext of waiting till his Batteries had made an open Breach in the Wall, and in the mean time he under-hand dispos'd the Inhabitants of *Prague*, by the Emissaries he had within the Town, to call together a general Assembly, to which he was resolv'd to send his Deputies. The principal of those who were were chosen, was a Man of Fortune, who made no small Figure in the Sequel of this History. He was the Son of a Peasant, who had taken the Name of the Town of *Roquesan*, which he left at twelve Years of Age, to beg in the Town of *Prague*. The beauty of his Mind, and the ease of his Expression, had procur'd him a Place amongst the poor Scholars of the College, where he became the Disciple of *Jacobel*, and had learnt the Doctrine of the *Hussites*. He had succeeded his Master in his Chair, and with equal Credit amongst those of his Party: And *Zisca* gave him means to encrease his Reputation,

tion, in granting him almost all the Articles he propos'd. The Capital City was exempt from a Garrison, and nothing was demanded of its Citizens to redeem their Plunder: Its Privileges were preserv'd in their full extent, and the exercise of the two Religions there remain'd free.

§. 28. THE Emperor having receiv'd Intelligence of this Reconciliation despair'd of recovering *Bohemia* by force of Arms: and as if the vilest Submission had been excusable in order to regain a Throne, he offered a *Charte blanche* to the same *Zisca*, whom so many times he had declar'd a Rebel. He conjur'd him to accept of the Government of *Bohemia* and the neighbouring Provinces, he gave him an absolute Command over his Armies; he resign'd to him the Regal Rights and Revenues; and his Imperial Majesty reserv'd to himself the bare Title of King. *Zisca* was neither bent by Ambition nor Avarice, and History gives him that Encomium, that he sunk under neither the one nor the other of those Passions. He disarm'd himself by the same Motive, as since prevail'd with the Admiral *de Cbâtillon* to settle *France* in a Peace, which prov'd fatal to himself, *i. e.* *Zisca* was wearied with being Head of a Party, which had too great an inclination to a Common-wealth, to obey a General as implicitly as was necessary; he had dissembled rather than forgotten the Sedition of his Army before *Prague*, and he expected a return of the Muriny upon the first occasion; it was less dangerous for him to rely upon the Word of his Master, than again to expose himself to the Caprice of thirty thousand Rebels; and if it be true, that Heroes have a secret Foresight of their approaching death,

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Zisca could not better end his Life, than in reconciling himself to the greatest Monarch in Christendom, after having overcome him eight Times in pitch'd Battle. He had Authority enough with his Party to make them agree to whatever Propositions he should accept, and to persuade the People to take a new Oath to the Emperor: But in his Journey to wait upon that Prince, and to give him new assurances of his Fidelity, he was infected with the Plague, whereof he dy'd the 6th of *October* 1424, in the Castle of *Priscor*, and left behind him the Reputation of the best Commander of his Age; and it was question'd, whether ever any that had been before him was equal to him. The inclination he had to Arms appear'd in his last Words. He who stood by him, having ask'd him where he would be inter'd, he answer'd that he chose rather to be Food to wild Beasts and Birds, than to Worms, and commanded, that his Body should be exposed for Meat to them, after that they had flea'd him, and made a Drum of his Skin, the very sound whereof (he said) would make his Enemies tremble.

§. 29. HIS death however did not produce in his Army the Effect which the Catholicks had promis'd themselves, it would; for though they became divided upon it into two Bodies, the one whereof took the name of *Taborites*, and chose the *Grand Procopius* for their General; and the other named themselves *Orphans*, and judging no one worthy to succeed *Zisca*, made choice every Year of a new Commander, whose Authority was Sovereign, except upon the Day of Battle, and then they were subject to another, (*Procopius* surnamed *le Petit*) yet they never fail'd

to be re-united and act by concert, when the Subject was the Pillage of the Catholick Provinces bordering upon *Bohemia*; which they perform'd every Year with that regularity they had learnt from *Zisca*: At the beginning of Summer they went out, and march'd always in order of Battle form'd like a Cross. The Foot was plac'd in the midst of a great Number of Chariots, which serv'd as a Barrier to them, and the Horse laid the Country waste on the Right and the Left. If the Horse happen'd to be too much press'd by the Enemy, the Chariots open'd to receive them, and left them Ground enough to post themselves upon the Wings; and then the *Hussites* enter'd upon the Combat, and the two Extremes of their Cross began insensibly to be stretch'd out, so far as to encompass round the Forces of the Catholicks, who were by that means easily cut in pieces by them, because that at the same time they made any resistance before, those who were upon the Chariots slew them from behind. When they were come to the Province, they design'd to plunder, and there were left no more Enemies to conquer, the one half of the Army kept itself in a Body unmoveable, and the rest were detach'd, with the Chariots, in Companies; they took the Chariots along with them upon two accounts, the one, to bring back the Plunder, and the other, to leave behind them the marks of the Wheels, which might serve for a direction to them to re-assemble themselves.

The *Hussite* Army were so confident of their being able to defend themselves against the whole World, by retiring in the Winter into their strong Town of *Tabor*, and by laying waste, at their Will, *Germany*, *Hungary* and *Poland*, that they

they refus'd to accept of the Peace, which *Zisca* had concluded with the Emperor. They thought, that the Children born and bred up in the Camp would suffice for Recruits, and that nothing could prevent their ravaging the vast Plains of the North and East, into which they could conveniently spread their Horse and Chariots, whenever they pleas'd. Upon this they held separate Interests with the *Hussites* in the Towns, and without them they ravag'd *Austria*, fought and vanquish'd Duke *Albert*, the Emperor's Son-in-law, who had attack'd them before the Town of *Suetland*.

The Emperor, resolv'd in any sort to gain over the *Hussites* of the Towns, sent to demand of them the true cause of their complaints; they answer'd, the hatred which his Imperial Majesty had so often shewn to their Religion. The Emperor answer'd, that if they would be content to submit to the Decrees of the Council of *Basil*, he would in the mean time give them leave to live after their own way. To this Proposition they readily consented; but the *Hussite* Army having refus'd it, Pope *Martin* the fifth sent Cardinal *Winton* into *Germany* to form a kind of Crusade against the Hereticks of *Bohemia*.

§. 30. THAT Legate, by a strange profusion of Indulgences, brought into the Field three Armies, the one from *Saxony* and the *Hanse* Towns, the other from *Francony*, and the third from the Circles of the *Rhine*, *Swabia* and *Bavaria*. The Rendezvous of all these Forces was before the Town of *Missen*, to which they set Siege. But upon the first noise of the Approach of the *Hussites*, who came to the aid of the Town,

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they betook themselves to a shameful Flight, and left to the Enemy all their Ordnance and Baggage.

The *Hussites*, having thus gain'd the Victory without striking a blow, sack'd *Misnia*; and would have in like manner treated the Bishoprick of *Bamberg*, and the Territory of *Nuremberg*, if the Inhabitants had not redeem'd their Plunder with Money.

This Overthrow prevented not the assembling of a second Crusade in *Germany* against the *Hussites*, by the Ministry of Cardinal *Julian*, which yet prov'd not more successful then the former. The Elector of *Brandenburg*, who headed the Catholick Troops, form'd indeed a very regular Siege before the Town of *Tepla*: but upon sight of the *Hussite* Army, the Germans, tho' to the number of forty thousand Horse, and thirty thousand Foot, fled as before. And the Ministers of the Court of *Rome* were never after able to find Soldiers for the *Bohemian* War.

§. 31. THEIR last resource was the Council, and thither the Emperor a second time invited the *Hussites* by his Letters, which were exactly conformable to the humour of the Country. He told them, that he held it the chief part of his Glory to have been born in *Bohemia*. He call'd back into their remembrance the mild Government of his Grandfather, his Father, and Brother, and promis'd for himself, that for the future would govern them with greater moderation than ever those his Predecessors had done. He added, that to the end, he might entirely regain their Affections, he was about to take a Journey to *Rome*, under pretext of receiving the Imperial Crown, but in reality, that he

he might leave to all the World and particularly to his Subjects of *Bohemia*, free leave to assist and remain at *Basil*, so long as they pleas'd, where the Council had no Authority to punish or arrest any Person. He concluded, with exhorting them to be present there, and with giving them Permission to go thither so well attended, as to secure themselves from fear of danger. The Artifice of these Letters consisted chiefly in this, that they took away, without any open mention thereof, the greatest obstacle, which the *Hussites* could have against their Journey to *Basil*. For they had nothing to object, but that the Promises of Protection made to their Fore-fathers at the Council of *Constance* were ill observ'd; and his Imperial Majesty was careful to omit nothing, which might remove that scruple. And indeed in that Assembly, the *Hussites* who were called together upon this subject, (even though the *Orphans*, according to the old Maxim of *Zisca*, were resolv'd in no wise to assist at the Council) the *Taborites*, the Citizens and the People amounted to a plurality of Voices, notwithstanding that from all Parts there had been sent no inconsiderable Deputation. Their reason of appearing was, that they might very plausibly be accus'd of having separated themselves from the Church, and alter'd the Creed of their Ancestors, if they did not justify themselves before an Assembly, which represented the whole Body of that Church, and shew that what was in them term'd Novelty, was but an amendment of several abuses, which had in process of time crept into the Church, and that the necessity of re-establishing the Primitive Purity had compel'd them to abstain from the Communion of the Catholics for a while, until their example

had drawn over the rest of the *Bohemians* to a Reformation.

The most famous among the Deputies were, *Roquesan* for the Clergy, and the Grand *Procopius* for the Nobility, their Train was made up of three hundred Cavaliers, all Men of Arms: The Citizens of *Basil* went out to meet *Procopius*, with design to view the Person of that Great Man, without whom *Zisca* had done nothing considerable, and who after the Death of *Zisca* had defeated the Duke of *Austria*, and by his Presence alone had twice put to flight the whole Forces of the Empire.

In the year 1434, the Council receiv'd the Deputation of *Bohemia*, with all the Civility due to the Embassadors of Crown'd Heads; and when the Subject was about to be brought into debate, Cardinal *Julian* in a long Discourse represented to them the Evils of Schism, and concluded with an Exhortation to the *Bohemians*, to return to the Communion of the Church.

Roquesan, in the name of his Colleagues, answer'd, that they agreed with him in his Opinion of the Enormity of Schism; that the material Point was, who were the Authors of the Schism, the *Romanists* or the *Hussites*; that they were ready to justify whatever they had advanc'd from the Holy Scriptures; so far were they from rejecting their Authority, that they held the Holy Fathers in such Veneration, that they therefore decry'd the Doctrine of the Schools, because it was contrary to their Sentiments; that they were come to the Council to give an account of their Faith, and they desir'd leave, that Lay-men might sit there as well as Clergy-men. To this the Council gave their

their Consent, and a few days after *Roquesan* presented a Memorial to them, which contain'd but Four Articles. The first related to the necessity of Communicating under both Kinds; they pretended that the Church had not Power to forbid the Cup to the Laity, to the prejudice of the Gospel, which in expresse Terms ordain'd it to be given. The second was, That Clergy-men were not allow'd by the Gospel to take upon them any Secular Power. The third, That whoever was capable of it, had a right to preach the Word of God. And the fourth was, That publick Sins ought not to be suffer'd, not even out of the consideration of thereby avoiding greater Ills. What was the true Motive which prevail'd with the *Hussites* to reduce their Forty-five Articles, to these Four we have mention'd, is not certainly known. They gave out, that it was for Peace-sake, and to shew, how passionately desirous they were of reconciling themselves to the Church of *Rome*.

The Catholicks on the other hand suspected, that they would not have retrench'd them to that number, but out of despair to maintain the Forty-one remaining Propositions, before such excellent Divines, as were the Fathers of that Council. However, this is certain, that these Four Articles alone were presented, sign'd by all the Magistrates of *Bohemia*, in the Name of the Church and State in that Kingdom. The Legate, who was President of the Council, read them in a full Assembly, and not being willing to appear, in the least, to doubt of the fair dealing of the *Hussites*, or to suffer that they should re-enter by halves into the Communion of the Church, he said, that he thought

thought he had heard, when he was in *Bohemia*, that the *Hussites* held the Orders of *Mendicants* to be the Invention of the Devil.

Roquesan, who car'd not to exceed the Bounds of his Commission, made no Reply ; but *Procopius*, rising up, said, that they could not be otherwise, since neither the Patriarchs under the Law of Nature, nor the Prophets under the written Law, nor Jesus Christ under the Law of Grace, had ever instituted a Society of Men, who should place the highest degree of Perfection in begging, even when they had Strength and Industry enough to get their Living by Labour.

This Discourse caus'd in the Assembly a mix'd kind of Murmur betwixt Laughter and Indignation, according to the different Interests of the Persons who were present. The Cardinal Legate immediately put a Stop to it, and calmly answer'd *Procopius*, that Jesus Christ had left to his Church the same Divine Spirit, wherewith the Patriarchs, Prophets and himself were endu'd, and that the same Spirit had shew'd its Approbation of the *Mendicants*, by keeping them from Want. He added, that the Poverty, of which those Orders made profession, could in no wise be attributed to the Prince of Darkness, since it would be easy to prove, that the Founders thereof had from thence suck'd in the most solid Maxims of the Gospel.

Procopius made no Reply, for tho' he was a Priest, and a Man of Learning, yet so long ago was it since he had chang'd his Cassock into a Coat of Armour, that he wisely apprehended, he should only expose himself to Ridicule, by engaging more deeply in the Dis-

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pute. The Council were satisfy'd with the Assurance, given them in Writing by the Deputies of *Bohemia*, that their Kingdom would re-unite it self to the rest of the Faithful, if they were convinc'd of the Falsity of those Four Articles, to examine which they nominated Four Doctors in quality of Commissaries. The Deputies in like manner nominated Four Persons of their Body to assist at the Discussion of them, or rather to defend them. Fifty Conferences pass'd upon this Head, the Event whereof was, that the *Hussites*, persisting in their Sentiments, took leave of the Council, and return'd into *Bohemia*.

§. 32. THE Fathers of the Council having ill succeeded in their Attempts to clear up these Difficulties, had recourse to the method of Negotiation, and in their turn deputed the most expert Politicians of their Body into *Bohemia*, to enquire in all Places, whether no Expedient could be found out to heal the Breach. The Deputies discharg'd their Commission every way : And after having in vain employ'd Perswasions and Menaces, they became more successful in dividing the *Hussites* : They knew, the Nobility and Burghers had declared for them by meer Force, and after they had abandon'd the Emperor and the Princes of the Empire ; that they were in a hard condition by reason of the Insults they every day receiv'd from the Army or the mean People ; and that they were ready to rise every moment, if they had but the least hopes of making their condition better. Upon this Foot, by their Apostate Emissaries they signify'd first to one, then to another, that they had taken but ill Coun-
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fel in degrading the Emperor to subject themselves to the Tyranny of *Procopius*, and to change a moderate Government, for the Rule of a Renegado Priest, who knew no other Laws, than his own capricious Will. That instead of the Four Estates of the Realm and a limited Monarchy, a Fifth, which was the Army, usurp'd all Authority to it self, and did in no wise divide it with the others; that the same armed Men, who impos'd immense Taxes to satisfy their Avarice, would levy them with extreme Violence, and that the most civil Remonstrances that could be made against such Proceedings, would draw from them only Blows; that their Insolence could not be suppress'd otherwise than by a general Insurrection; and that after all, the Nobility and Burghers in taking up Arms against them could hazard nothing, which they had almost lost already, and that they could not but by that means prevent the Execution of the Design which had been form'd to extirpate them, as soon as the Soldiers had pillag'd from them all they were worth.

The Nobles and Burghers were too sensible of the force of these Reasons; but the former had no Money, and the latter could not find Security for what they should lend them. The Deputies of the Council displeas'd, that an Obstacle of so small importance should hinder the Re-establishment of the Catholick Religion in *Bohemia*, wrote Letters so pressing to *Basil*, that a Collection was there made to supply the extraordinary Necessities of that Kingdom. The Money sent from thence amounted to eighteen thousand Crowns, and yet that Sum, which bore so little proportion to their Wants, produc'd

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duc'd the whole Effect, which might have been expected from a greater, by being depos'd in the Hands of the most dexterous and zealous Gentleman throughout *Bohemia*. This Gentleman was *Magnard*, Lord of a Family but lately enobled, a valiant, experienc'd, prudent, and discreet Commander, who set up for the Deliverer of his Country, as soon as he had receiv'd Assurances from the Deputies of the Council, that he should be seconded; however, he would in no wise make himself the Head of that Enterprize, for knowing that there were in *Bohemia* many Families more antient than his own, he was apprehensive of their Jealousy, and therefore he sought out from among them a Man who might be capable to serve as a Cloak to his Designs. This Man he found in the Person of *Risembourg*, who had Birth and all other Qualities fit to make a Parade. This Phantome he brought forth, gave him the Title of General, but in reality kept the whole Command to himself; and when he had fully laid the Scheme of his Measures, he began the Revolt in the Town of *Pelzin*. The two *Procopius's* immediately set Siege to it, for both the *Taborites* and *Orphans* joyn'd in Pursuit of the Rebels, but they were interrupted in the Heat of the Siege by an unforeseen Accident. The *Taborites* were in Possession of *Old Prague*, and the *Orphans* of the *New*; and as their Priests, both on the one side and the other, had the principal Authority over them, so *Roquesan* was chief in the former, and a Man named *Lupus* of the same Profession in the latter. These two Priests were the two best Preachers of their Sect, and that was sufficient to make the one of them emulate the other. From which Passion they easily fell into Jealousy,

lousy, and this they carried on so, as to rail at each other in their publick Sermons. Their Auditors espous'd their Quarrel, and went so far, that the two *Pragues* were fortify'd the one against the other. *Magnard* having receiv'd Intelligence of this Disorder, made his Advantage of it, and advancing his Troops which he held ready, he found the *Taborites* so stiffly engag'd in defending themselves against a furious Attack made upon them by the *Orphans*, under the Conduct of *Lupus*, who was a better Soldier than *Roquesan*, that the Catholicks without difficulty made themselves Masters of *Old Prague*.

When the besieged in *Pelzin* had receiv'd this News, their Courage was redoubl'd; and the *Procopius's*, who thought it to no purpose any longer to hold out the Siege, rais'd it upon Information, that *Magnard*, after having taken *Old Prague*, had made an Assault upon the *New*. Their Design was to recover the *Old*, before the Catholicks could secure it against them; but their Intent was cross'd by certain Propositions of Peace, which were made to them. They consisted in restoring *Bobemia* to its old Estate, with this Difference, that the Catholicks or the *Hussites* should elect the Magistrates in those Places, where the one or the other exceeded in Numbers.

The Proposition was very advantageous to the *Hussites*, for they surpassing the Number of the Catholicks in the Villages, and equalling them in the Towns, were assur'd of obtaining by that Accommodation the better Part of *Bobemia*. But the Indignation which seiz'd the two *Procopius's* for being compel'd to raise the Siege was so great, that on the other hand they sought by indirect means to repair the Affront, they pretended

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tended they had receiv'd. They answer'd, that they could not treat with Honour, until such time as the Catholicks had surrender'd to them *Old Prague*, and had drawn out of *Pelzin*, the Men and Ammunition which they had put in there. These two Clauses appear'd so ridiculous to the Catholicks, that they immediately demanded to fight with the *Hussites*: And *Magnard* taking the Advantage of their Warmth, arriv'd before the *Hussites* in a Conjunction, which alone could procure him the Victory.

§. 33. IT was just at the time, that *Procopius* (who having no thoughts of fighting had shut himself up close in his Intrenchments) was drawing out the *Taborite* Cavalry at the most spacious Gate of the Camp, in order to detach them for Intelligence of the Enemy. The Catholick Horse push'd them back so close, that in the Confusion they enter'd with them into their Camp, and by that means render'd their Chariots, which were the chief Defence of the *Hussite* Soldiers, wholly useless. As they were not rang'd in order of Battle, and their frightened Horsemen falling in upon them, put to the rout the Squadrons of their Foot, as fast as they could be form'd; when this happen'd to them, it threw them into a very horrible Dread, which was unawares encreas'd by the Charioteers: For they being of no longer use, endeavour'd to get out of the Camp, that they might thereby give ground enough for the Combat to the *Hussite* Army. But the Soldiers imagining, that they had no other Intention than to fly, rather cross'd their going out than favour'd it. And thus the contriv'd Ill encreasing, and the *Hussites* being an Hindrance the one to the other were

put to Confusion, and seiz'd with so dreadful a Consternation, that the Great *Procopius* could not assemble together one whole Squadron. But the Less *Procopius*, having kept in their Ranks the Cavalry of the *Orphans*, joyn'd him very opportunely, and that considerable Body having compel'd the Nobles to go out of the Camp by the same way they enter'd, were so hard as to follow after them, and to attack them in the open Field.

The Battle was resolutely fought for above four and twenty Hours together, tho' the Nobility, being without Comparifon more numerous than the Cavalry of the *Hussites*, had from the beginning environ'd them; and the Great *Procopius* behav'd himself so incomparably well, that *Magnard* was more than once in doubt of the Victory. But a random blow took off his Head, and sunk the Courage of his Squadron. However, the *Orphans* continu'd the fight, so long as the Less *Procopius* remain'd alive; but when his Head was cleft in two by the stroke of a Sabre, his Lieutenant *Capchon*, and the rest of the *Hussite* Horse, couragiously forc'd their way thro' the thickest of the Nobility, and retir'd to the Town of *Colnitz*, in order of Battle.

Magnard, without troubling himself to pursue them, return'd into the Enemies Camp, fill'd the *Hussite* Foot with extreme Terror, and whilst they were struggling with the Leaders of the Chariots, which should first get out, he set against them on the one side the Catholick Infantry, ready to cut in Pieces whosoever should stir one Foot out of the Camp; and threatening to Assault them from behind at the same time they were attack'd by the Foot before, he compel'd them to surrender at Discretion.

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The victorious Army assembled to deliberate upon what was best to be done. The Catholick Nobles were for saving the Lives of so many thousand Men, till *Magnard* represented to them, that their Clemency was out of Season, and that they seem'd not to be enough sensible of the Importance of the Victory, for that most Part of the conquer'd being born in the *Hussite* Army, knew no other Country than the Camp, nor any other Profession than War; and the rest having liv'd there twenty whole Years, were not now capable of any other Business: That from thence it must indeed follow, that they were the best disciplin'd Body of Foot that had appear'd in the World since the time of the old *Romans*; but that it would likewise follow, that it was absolutely necessary to destroy them, since that nothing was so dangerous to the Monarchy of *Bohemia*, as to permit so many armed Soldiers to live in that Kingdom: That that Estate was by its Fundamental Maxims so much the more remov'd from Violence, as it was a Mixture of an Aristocracy and a Democracy, and that by consequence it could not be secure, so long as it was the Receptacle of more than twenty thousand resolute Fellows, who had been accustom'd to Murder, Robbery and Pillage, upon all Occasions: That if they should be permitted to live together, they would elect a Chief, and renew the War; and if they should be dispers'd among the Villages, they would corrupt the Burghers and Peasants; that in case they could find means to avoid those two Inconveniencies, yet there would still remain a third, which could not be surmounted, and that was, that the first factious Spirit which should attempt to stir up a civil War in *Bohemia*,

mia; would draw after him all the Soldiers whom they had now taken pity of, and by their means usurp the Tyranny over their Country, of how mean Extraction or Conduct soever he should be.

These Considerations, and particularly the last chang'd the Determination of the Catholics; and made them resolve to extirpate the Infantry of the *Hussites*. The Care thereof they committed to *Magnard*, who scrupling to slay with the blame-worthy those numerous Innocents, who had engag'd themselves to follow the *Hussite* Army, by no other Motives than the bearing of Arms, invented this Stratagem to separate the one Body from the other, without making either of them in the least acquainted with his Designs. He publish'd by an Herald, in that part of the Camp where the *Hussites* were kept Prisoners, that the War was not ended, and that *Capchon* had saved himself in *Colnitz* with almost all the Horse, he commanded, that he pretended to re-establish the *Hussite* Army, that his Reputation had brought over to him a great Number of armed Men, for that he was a skilful General, and had formerly open'd a way from *Bobemia* to the *Baltick* Sea, that he had ravag'd all *Prussia*, and restor'd the Town of *Dantzic* to the Obedience of its proper Prince the King of *Poland*, and that the only means of preventing the Designs of *Capchon* was immediately to besiege him in *Colnitz*, and if possible to force him thence; in fine, he gave out, that he thought himself bound to execute Justice upon the *German* Nations, who had so oft attempted to lay waste his Countrey: That *Bobemia* could neither undertake nor execute these glorious Projects, but by the Assistance of the many

many brave Soldiers, who had render'd themselves so experienc'd under the Discipline of *Zisca* ; that the Estate of *Bohemia* to give an honourable Mark of their Esteem for them, was willing to assign a Pension to every one of them out of the publick Treasury proportionable to their Merit, and that to prevent any others from mixing with them, the true Soldiers were desir'd to pass into certain neighbouring Barns, and the others to depart to their own Homes.

The *Hussites* were not so credulous to believe all that had been said to them, but they were enough perswaded of Part thereof. They could not think that the State bore them such good will as to give them a Pension, or to employ them in a long War against the *Germans*. But this they could easily imagine, that they had a Design to make use of them in the Overthrow of *Capchon*, and so extirpate the *Hussites* by *Hussites*.

Upon this Supposition they in their turn too invented a Stratagem, and separated themselves from the Sellers of Provision and all other unprofitable Persons, and retir'd into the Barns which were shewn them, not so much truly in Obedience to the Conquerors, as to delude them, by letting them see, that the *Hussite* Infantry did willingly condescend to march against *Capchon*, and to be led before *Colnitz*, where indeed they had design'd to be again united to their Comrades. They found in the Barns great Plenty of Wine and Victuals prepar'd for them ; and they partook thereof in such sort as to be all laid asleep by midnight, at which time the Catholick Army having surrounded the Barns, to the end that no one should escape out of their Hands, set Fire to them, which took immediately,

diately, the Walls being made of little else than Wood, and their Roofs of Thatch.

Thus was the most experienc'd Army that was ever train'd up to War destroy'd and burnt, after having ravag'd for twenty Years together the most wealthy Provinces of the North. The Soldiers of which it was compos'd were tall and strong, so as to give prodigious Instances of their Valour, they were in such wise enur'd to Labour and the injuries of the Weather, that nothing was able to alter their Constitution, and their Skin was become so hard, that it might seem in case of Necessity to serve instead of Armour. It would have frighted one to have seen them, for besides that they were most horribly Sun-burnt, and clad with nought but the Skins of wild Beasts, they never comb'd their Heads, and let their Beards grow in a most indecent manner. The smoke of their Huts contributed to disfigure them, and the hunger they were sometimes forc'd to sustain, had render'd them so meager, that the abundance they afterwards found, could never bring them into good plight. They might indeed with those Dispositions have been able to have conquer'd the whole World, if the guiltless Blood of so many Innocents, which was shed as a sacrifice to their Rage, and the prevention of their Errors had not involv'd them in the like Fate.

The Deputies of the Council, having extirpated the *Hussite* Army sooner than they could have expected, and surmounted that apparently invincible hindrance to the reconciliation of *Bohemia* with the Catholick Church, concluded it within a few Weeks, after they had gain'd *Roquefan* over to their side, by the hopes they gave him

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§. 34. THE *Hussites* were not only satisfy'd with having reduc'd the forty-five Articles of their Creed to four, they yet cast off three more, and confin'd themselves to one, to wit, the Communion under both Kinds. Upon which it was agreed, that the Communion under both Kinds should be permitted by the Authority of Jesus Christ and the Church his Spouse, to those of *Bohemia* and *Moravia*, who should live in the Peace and Unity, and conform themselves to the Faith and Ceremonies of the Universal Church, in all things except the manner of participating of the Eucharist, and if they observ'd that Practice, till the General Council then assembled had decided by a Canon, to which all the World was bound to submit; whether the Communion under both Kinds was absolutely necessary to fulfil the Command of God, or whether the Species of Bread alone did suffice for the Communion of the Laity; and which of the two Communions was most conformable with the Salvation and Profit of the Faithful; but that if after the definition of the Council, the Bohemians and Moravians should still persevere in demanding Permission to Communicate in both Kinds, and the People of those Realms should send upon that subject a solemn Embassy to *Basil*, the Council would even then allow it to such Persons as should be arriv'd at the Age of Discretion, in the Parishes where the most part of the Communicants were *Hussites*; upon condition nevertheless, that the Priests, immediately before the distribution of the two Elements to those who should draw near to

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receive them, should publicly advise them to lay aside their Error of believing, *The Flesh of Jesus Christ alone to be given under the Species of Bread, and the Blood alone under the Species of Wine,* and exhort them stedfastly to believe, *the entire Body of Jesus Christ, i. e. his Flesh, his Blood, his Soul, his Divinity and his Humanity, to be equally contain'd under the one and the other of the two Species.*

They had likewise the Foresight to insert, that this Accommodation should not be esteem'd broken by the Trespas of some particular Persons of the one or other Party, and that it should hold good, until the majority of those, who embrac'd the one or the other Opinion in *Bohemia*, had violated it.

This Treaty, which passes for the most judicious of all that respect Ecclesiastical Affairs, which was made in the fifteenth Century, was negotiated by two Men alone; for the Council sent but two Deputies into *Bohemia*. These were *Philibert* Bishop of *Constance*, and the Protonotary *John Palamor*, who seem to have prevented so many Inconveniencies, as they have inserted Words: And indeed *Roquesan*, as subtle and malicious as he was, could not find therein any pretext to blemish it, at the time he endeavour'd to make himself the most considerable betwixt the two Parties.

The Emperor confirm'd it, at the time that the principal Nobility had taken a Journey to *Ratisbon* to meet him, and to take a new Oath of Allegiance to him: And as there was no mention of either *Capchon* or *Roquesan* in the Treaty, they both took their way to *Ratisbon*, to throw themselves at the Feet of his Imperial Majesty: They were much better receiv'd, than they

they could have expected, in that *Capchon* obtain'd for himself and the Horse which he commanded, an Amnesty so general, that every one of them was continu'd in his Dignity and Estate: And *Roquesan* was not only nominated to the Archbishoprick of *Prague*, but moreover recommended by a Letter wrote with the Emperor's own Hand to the Pope, for the speedy Expedition of his Bulls.

His Imperial Majesty did not however enter into *Prague*, till such time as he had distributed amongst the Nobility sixty thousand Crowns, and given the Cattle of *Hungary* to such of that Body, whose Farms had been ruin'd by the *Hussites*, to the end that they might be repair'd. He was likewise before, to wit, on the fifth of *September* 1416, constrain'd to sign a Treaty, the principal Heads whereof were, that the Revenues of the Clergy should continue in the Hands of those who had usurp'd them, until the Incumbents had pay'd the Sums which were rais'd upon them in proportion to their value; that the Religious, whose Monasteries had been thrown down, should neither return into *Bohemia*, nor re-enter into the Possession of the Substance annex'd to them; that those, who had been banish'd by the States of *Bohemia* before the War, should not be recall'd from Exile; that the Pope should only collate to Benefices and not present; and that the *Hussites* of *Tabor* should be allow'd six Years time to deliberate, whether or no they would agree to this Accommodation, without being besieged or surrounded during that Interval.

§. 35. THUS ended the civil and religious Wars together, which the Butchers of *Constance* had

had kindled, after having for two and twenty Years infested the Kingdom of *Bobemia*, the Provinces adjoining to it, and the best Provinces of the North. The Conduct of the Emperor in appeasing these Troubles with so much Condescension, was almost universally blam'd, and did not till after some time receive the Applauses it deserv'd. Some suspected him of Cowardise, others reproach'd him with having sacrific'd the Interests of so many Persons, who had ruin'd themselves in assisting him, to his own particular Interest in regaining the Crown of *Bobemia*. The Court of *Rome*, which made it a Maxim never to consent to the Alienation of Ecclesiastical Revenues protested against this Accommodation, and refusing its Bulls to *Roquesan* threw him into such a Passion, as had almost stifled the Peace in its Birth, if the Prudence of the Council had not found out a Remedy thereto.

The same Day, that the Emperor *Sigismund*, (whom the Bohemians had before depos'd, as being born of an Adulteress, the Son of Antichrist, a sacrilegious Wretch and the Disturber of the publick Peace) made his Entry into *Prague* and receiv'd upon a Tribunal, prepar'd for him in a spacious Square, the Submission of all the Orders in the Kingdom; *Roquesan* saying a solemn Mass in the Archiepiscopal Church to thank God for the Peace, he called to him a certain Lay-man, whom he had before charg'd to stand ready, and gave him the Communion under both Kinds.

The breach of the Treaty was manifest, in that it was permitted to the *Hussites* to give the Sacrament after their manner in those Churches alone, which were in their Possession; but this could never extend to the Metropolitcal Church
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of *Prague*, wherein no Laick had ever receiv'd the Species of Wine. The Emperor and the States of *Bohemia*, who were present at the Action, were so scandaliz'd, that they could scarce forbear to lay Hands upon that insolent Wretch, who to gratify his own Ambition sought to reinvolve his Country in Civil War. But the Legates of the Council put a stop to the first Passion of the Catholicks, and soon appeas'd them, by recalling into their Memory that Article of the Treaty, which declar'd, that it could not be broken by the Acts of one or two seditious Persons. The Protonotary *Palamor* step'd forward to prevent the Action, but his Seat was so far remov'd from the Altar, that before he could get thither, the Lay-man had partook of the Cup.

Roquesan then went on to finish the Mass; and when all were retir'd, the Emperor gave him a severe Rebuke. The conclusion of that Prince's Discourse was more mild than the beginning; for after having intimidated *Roquesan*, he us'd such Terms as he judg'd capable of asswaging that dangerous Spirit; he represented to him, that it was no less his worldly than his eternal Interest to be reconcil'd to the Holy See, that in giving Marks of his Submission he would rake away the only Obstacle, which oppos'd his Greatness, in removing the suspicion, that he had only in appearance rejected the forty-four remaining Articles of the Doctrine of the *Hussites*; that his Bulls for the Archbishoprick of *Prague* were then dispatch'd, and that instead of a number of Heretick Rebels, whom he would find it a difficult matter to head, he might become the lawful and peaceful Superior of the whole Body of the Clergy in a considerable Kingdom: But that
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in returning to the Catholick Church, he must take care neither to deceive God nor Men in professing a Religion, of the Truth whereof he was not perswaded; for that besides the multitude of sacrilegious Acts, which he would be every Day oblig'd to commit, it would be impossible to carry on his dissimulation to the end, and if the Catholicks should once perceive his Hypocrisy, they would infallibly drive him out of his Church, even though he was consecrated Archbishop.

Roquesan, mov'd with this Advice, continu'd for some time peaceable in the Parish of *St. Mary of Prague*, the Cure whereof he had usurp'd; but his pretended Bulls not coming, and the Return of the Monks, whose Monasteries had not been demolish'd, causing him to apprehend the diminution of his Credit, he again began to preach against them, and let drop these Expressions among others, *that they were so many Devils, come to possess the People of Bohemia*; that their Design was, to darken by their new Phantomes of Devotion the old Maxims of the Gospel, but that he, by the good Assistance of zealous Christians, was resolv'd to prevent it. These being carry'd to the Emperor, they threw him into the greater Passion, as he thereby apprehended the Return of that Tempest he had come to calm. He reply'd, that he would sooner cut *Roquesan's* Throat, as he was going up to the Altar, than he'd suffer to put in practice so wicked an Attempt. But *Roquesan*, advertis'd of the danger which was threaten'd him by the Passion the Emperor, who was the most gentle Man alive, had thrown himself into, avoided it by a sudden

den Flight, and prevented the Banishment to which he was afterward condemn'd.

He tarry'd not there so long as was necessary for the Tranquillity of *Bobemia*, for the Emperor *Sigismund* dy'd two Years after, in the year 1438: and the necessity which *Albert* of *Austria*, his Son-in-law and Successor, lay under of imprisoning the Widow of the De-funct, who had endeavour'd to disappoint him of his Kingdom of *Bobemia*, put their Arms again into the hands of the *Hussites*, and gave them Courage to call back their seditious Preachers. Thus did *Roquesan* come back, and he soon form'd in *Bobemia* so mighty a Faction, as dar'd to separate it self from the other Members of that State in the most important Action of that Body, which was the Election of a King.

They cast their Eyes upon *Casimir*, the King of *Poland's* Brother, tho' he was not above thirteen years old, and the Catholicks, following the ancient Custom of electing one of the Royal House, so long as there were any Persons of that Family capable to bear the Scepter, rais'd to the Throne *Albert* of *Austria* after the Example of the Germans and Hungarians, who had recogniz'd the elder Sons for their Emperor, and the second for their King. His Forces being made so much the greater than his Predecessors, as he was in Possession of *Austria*, he so closely press'd upon *Petrascan* and *Pogebrac*, the Chiefs of the *Hussites*, that notwithstanding their Army was encreas'd with four thousand old Soldiers from *Poland*, yet he constrain'd them to quit the Field, and to give up all the Places, which had declar'd in their favour, and at length to retire to *Tabor*, where the Polish-men

men refusing to fight, were reduc'd by Famine to disband themselves.

The *Hussites*, wanting Strength to make resistance alone, submitted to the Emperor; but that Prince liv'd not long enough to reap all the Fruits the Catholics expected from that Victory, he dy'd in the Flower of his Age, and left behind him one only Son, named *Ladislaus*, an Infant in the Cradle.

The same Reasons, which had prevail'd with the Bohemians to elect the Father for their King, were stronger with regard to the Son, who descended in a right Line from *Charles* the fourth, and *Sigismund*. So that the *Hussites* alone oppos'd his Election; they would have absolutely cast upon him the Punishment of all the Ills, which they pretended they had receiv'd from the House of *Austria*; or rather, they imagin'd, that they should meet with Persecution, so long as they should suffer a King of a different Religion from their own to rule over them. They rejected the Infant *Ladislaus*, under pretext, that not being able to govern himself, it would be by no means fit to entrust with him the Government of a Nation so hard to be rul'd as *Bobemia*; and they offer'd the Crown to the Duke of *Bavaria*, who chose rather to be content with what he already had, than to embroil himself in new Affairs.

§. 36. THE difficulty of finding a King suitable to their Inclinations oblig'd them to make two Lieutenants during the *Inter-regnum*, whose great Care was to see, that the Council of *Basil* exacted of the *Hussites* all they had promis'd. The Council had determin'd, that Communion under Two Kinds was not necessary

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cessary to Salvation; and the *Hussites*, not finding their Account in that Decision, which took from them all pretext of Schism, had desir'd of the Council, that they might be allow'd, according to the antient Custom of the Church, to give the Eucharist to Infants immediately after Baptism: The Repulse, they met with, hinder'd them not from soliciting to have leave to read the Gospel at Mass; and to sing the Creed in their own Country Language; but the Council was yet inexorable in that Point, not that it was imagin'd an Indulgence of that nature would augment the Party of the *Hussites*, but that they were perswaded their stiffness in desiring somewhat particular in the Church, was but to keep their Party separate from the Catholics.

The Shame they endur'd for having obtain'd nothing of their Requests, renew'd their Impudence; they pretended, that the Treaty made by the Bishop of *Constance*, and the Protonotary *Palamor*, was null, in that (they said) it was founded only upon the verbal Promise of the two Deputies; that the Council of *Basil* had agreed to what they then refus'd, and upon that score, of which they could give no Proof, they made a new Profession of their Forty-five Articles.

Pope *Nicolas* the fifth resolv'd to prevent, if possible, the Troubles which a Civil War would cause in *Bohemia*, should it again break out, sent a Legate into that Kingdom in the year 1448. But he carry'd not with him the Parchment, which was absolutely necessary to his being receiv'd, as he ought; and to negotiate with success, *i. e.* he carry'd not to *Roquesan* the Bulls for the Archbishoprick of

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Prague. However, he made his Entry into *Prague* with the Cross carry'd before him, and other Marks of his Dignity : But the *Hussites*, not receiving from him the Satisfaction they expected, made an Insurrection out of regard to *Roquesan*, they demanded the Bulls which had been promis'd him ; and the Legate, after having in vain made all his Excuses, was compel'd to free himself from their Rage by Flight.

§. 37. THE principal Cause of the Disorder was, that the two Lieutenants seldom or never agreed. *Magnard*, a zealous Catholick, thought only of re-establishing in his Country, the Customs as well as the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* ; and *Petrarchon*, the intimate Friend of *Roquesan* and interess'd in the aggrandizing of *Pogebrac*, could not bear with the affected Delays in the Dispatch of the Bulls. He had nevertheless so great respect for his Colleague, and was so much in admiration of his Virtue, that he dar'd not openly to contradict him, nor oppose himself to the Punishment he subjected the Seditious to. And so complaisant was he, that he sign'd the Decree which condemn'd them to Death : But God knows how to remove from a Nation the Persons necessary to preserve the Peace thereof, if he has a Design to involve that Nation in Civil War. *Petrarchon* dy'd at a very unseasonable time for *Bohemia*, and *Pogebrac* was elected to succeed him. He was no less the Friend of *Roquesan* than *Petrarchon* ; but he had a more conceal'd and immoderate Ambition : He there laid his Measures to ascend the Throne of *Bohemia*, whither Fortune afterward carry'd him :
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And tho' he was not throughly perswaded of the Doctrine of the *Hussites*, of which he outwardly made Profession, yet he consider'd it as the the only Machine whereby to raise himself up to Sovereignty, when all the lawful means were shut to him. He shew'd so much Opposition to the Re-establishment of the *Romish* Ceremonies in the Churches of *Prague*, which *Magnard* had perhaps too hastily introduc'd after a Cessation of four and twenty Years, that the *Hussite* Burghers propos'd to him an infallible way of storming that City, that so they might say Mass in it after their own manner. *Pogebrac* had wit enough to know that that Project would render him sole Lieutenant of the Realm, and by consequence Master of Affairs; but he gave no heed to it, till he sent before certain faithful Persons to pass a Judgment, whether the *Hussites* were in a Condition to favour his storming that Capital Town. The Relation they made him, push'd him on to the Attempt; and the Enterprize was so concerted, that on a dark Night the *Hussites* should set Fire to a quarter of *Old Prague*, after the Catholics had run to quench it, they should open a Gate in *New Prague* to *Pogebrac*, who would be there ready with all the Forces of the Country.

The success answer'd upon Tryal, and the violence of the Wind which then arose, compel'd the Catholics who lodg'd in *New Prague* to run into the *Old* at the first Noise of Fire, with design to quench it. The *Hussites* being left alone easily introduc'd *Pogebrac*, who had time to make himself Master of the Bridge, which separated the two Towns, before the Catholics had notice of his March; his Soldiers aided them in spouting up Water and pulling down the Houses

most expos'd to the rapidity of the Flames : But that was not till after they had seiz'd upon the Walls and Person of the brave *Magnard*, whom they confin'd in a Dungeon, where he died of Poifon and Hunger, the *Huffites* in no wife consenting to fave the Life of him who had ruin'd their Army.

Pogebrac hinder'd not the Execution of their Vengeance, as imagining, that they would chufe him for their King. But he at that time was deceiv'd, for the *Huffites* being mov'd with fome remaining Inclination for the Blood of their antient Kings, agreed with the Catholicks in electing the young *Ladiflaus*, whom *Frederick* of *Austria*, being wearied with their Importunities, granted to them. They crown'd him, and fought for him in *Wedlock Magdalene* of *France*, daughter to *Charles VII*, which they obtain'd; but whilft the Marriage was preparing *Ladiflaus* died, not without Suspicion of being poison'd by *Roquesan*.

§. 38. *Pogebrac* had fo well laid his Measures for that Event, that the Crown of *Bohemia* was confer'd upon him by a Plurality of Voices. Thofe among the Catholicks who had refus'd him theirs, arm'd themfelves in defence of their Religion, which they were apprehenfive would be abolifh'd by the new King : But he was well perfwaded, that he could not reign peaceably unlefs he was reconcil'd to the Church of *Rome*. However, he purfu'd the Rebels, but they had no fooner fubmitted to him, than to fhew a very violent defire of entring into the Communion of the Church, he extirpated the *Huffites* by this Artifice. Their Division with the *Orphans* had ceas'd upon the Defeat of the Army, but

but the Re-union of those two Sects had not hinder'd the *Hussites* from being separated a second time. Those who were not content to confine themselves to the Communion under two Kinds, finding themselves defective in strength, had seiz'd upon *Tabor* by an Artifice, where they profess'd with Liberty the Forty-five Articles of their Creed; and *Pogebrac* despairing to reduce them, rid himself of them by gaining *Roquesan*, who feigning himself to be yet of their Party, perswaded them to submit themselves absolutely to what should be resolv'd in a general Assembly of *Hussites*, and to send thither their Deputies. They were there condemn'd, and upon their refusal to submit themselves, *Pogebrac* march'd against them with all the Forces of *Bohemia*, and besieg'd them in *Tabor*. They defended themselves with a Diligence and Resolution equal to that of the *Rhodians* against *Demetrius*: But the Success was not equal, for after having held out a whole Year, they were taken by Assault, and all put to the Sword, so that not one was left alive. *Pogebrac* would not even preserve the Town of *Tabor*, which they had so regularly fortify'd, lest there should remain any mark of Rebellion in that Kingdom, which he pretended to settle in Peace: He caused Fire to be set to it, and he rased the Ramparts even to the ground.

F I N I S.